

THE
MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.

Principal Librarian of the University of *Cambridge*.

Containing all his

WRITINGS,

Except the LIFE of *CICERO*:

Many of which were never before PUBLISHED.

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SOME



SOME
CURSORY REFLECTIONS
ON THE
DISPUTE OR DISSENSION,
Which happened at
A N T I O C H,
Between the
APOSTLES PETER and PAUL.
A N D

On the Variations also or Inconsistencies, which are found among
the Four Evangelists, in their different Accounts of the same
Facts ;

In order to discover

What Light these Facts afford Us, towards illustrating the proper Notion
of Inspiration, or that Measure of it especially which was indulged to
the Apostles and Evangelists, and how far they may be of Use if
rightly interpreted, towards determining the Controversies which have
been raised concerning the Proofs and Evidences of the Christian Re-
ligion, as far at least as they depend upon the Prophecies of the Old
Testament, which are cited for that Purpose in the New.



P R Æ F A C E.

S E V E R A L of these pieces, which compose this Volume, were written by me many years ago ; chiefly for my own information, on the occasion of certain controversies, then warmly agitated, concerning *the grounds and reasons* of the Christian religion ; and especially on the prophecies of the Old Testament, which are cited in the New, and applied to the particular acts and circumstances of our Saviour's life. For when the enemies of revelation attempted to discredit those citations, as being neither fairly made, nor rightly applied ; and our Divines, on the other hand, had nothing to offer in the defence of them, in which a man of sense could reasonably acquiesce ; I was willing to try, whether, from my own examination of the case, I might not be able to draw out something more satisfactory ; and if no solution of the difficulty could be found in the citations themselves, whether it might not be drawn from the characters of the Evangelists, who made and applied them—for this topic, I knew, tho' intimately connected with the question, was, what none of our common Advocates would venture to touch upon : whose fortunes in the Church depend, not on seeking out what is true, but on defending what is established ; and on inventing expedients to puzzle, where they cannot confute an Adversary. But truth, as the Antients tell us, lies buried in the deep, and cannot be discovered, but by searching things to the bottom : and when

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produced to the public view, shines always the brightest, after it has been polished, as *Tully* says, by the *file of disputation*.

As to the effect of my searches into the particular subject here intimated, it is fully explained in the following sheets. For tho' the controversies, which gave birth to them, have long since been at an end, yet I flatter myself, that they may still be seasonable and serviceable, towards checking that spirit of disaffection, which, in every part of the Kingdom, is visibly exerting itself, against the established religion, by all the various arts, which Popery, methodism and infidelity can supply : the growth of all which has of late years been greatly complained of by the Clergy. For as this increasing evil is owing, partly to certain articles, publicly professed and imposed by our Church, which are justly liable to exception ; and partly to groundless prejudices, and false notions of religion in general, conceived by the weak, and confirmed in them by the crafty ; so it cannot possibly be cured by any other method, than by placing the common religion of Christians on it's right foundation, the Gospel, and clearing our particular system of it from all just offence, and reducing it to it's original simplicity and conformity with the natural law or reason of man ; which, in all questions whatsoever, is the primary guide and ultimate test of right and wrong, truth and falsehood to the whole human species.

In the Heathen world, tho' there were always many Infidels and Heretics with regard to the established religion, there were no Dissenters from the established modes of worship, and very little disturbance given to the State by the intemperance of their religious contests : yet this was not owing to a want of zeal for the popular religion, in any order of men, for they all

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all professed the greatest, but to a reasonable way of thinking and acting with respect to it. The wiser sort were universally of opinion, that the multitude were to be deceived and allured to their duty, by fictions and fabulous tales, contrived to instill a superstitious reverence for the rites of their Ancestors, and a firm belief of their divine origin. This therefore was the common principle of all the politer nations, and particularly of the antient Romans; whose religion seems, of all others, to have been the best calculated, to promote the general good and prosperity of the Republic [a]. But tho' they were persuaded of the necessity of putting this deceit upon the populace, they thought it necessary at the same time, that the better sort should be treated in a different manner: with which view, while they enjoined a strict observance of their country's rites, as an indispensable duty on all, they made no scruple, to laugh at the folly of those, who took them for divine, and to publish their free sentiments upon them without any reserve; that all the liberal part of their fellow-citizens might understand, on what ground their religion stood, and by being of one mind, on a subject so interesting, might live with more ease to themselves, and good will towards each other.

Thus in the writings of *Cicero*, *Varro*, and others, we see the most sacred articles of their religion ridiculed with a freedom, which is apt to surprize us, till we reflect on the motives of it, and perceive, that it gave no scandal to men even of the strictest virtue and morality: for writings of this kind never reach to the multitude, or disturb the course of the popular worship; being read onely by a few in comparison, of a specu-

[a] Hæc Pontifex (Scævola) nosse populos non vult — expedire igitur existimat, salvi in religione Civitates, quod dicere etiam in libris rerum divinarum ipse Varro non dubitat. August. de Civ. D. l. 4. c. 27.

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lative and philosophic turn ; who reap no small pleasure, to find themselves at liberty to think freely and rationally on subjects, which fill the minds of the vulgar with anxious scruples and superstitious fears.

Now as this conduct of the Heathens procured both peace and reverence to their false religions, so it may furnish some usefull hints for our conduct, with regard to the true one : whose superior excellence and allowed divinity should oblige us to guard it with the stricter care, from all mixture of human inventions. If any thing therefore of this sort has ever been introduced into it, through the inadvertence, or political views of it's guardians ; or any thing inserted, out of condescension to popular prejudices, or a regard to the public quiet, which in some cases perhaps may be reasonable ; it ought however to be so distinguished and explained, as to be understood, and treated agreeably to it's nature by men of sense ; not arbitrarily imposed and enforced indifferently upon all, by the fictitious pretence of a divine authority.

For if the studious and inquisitive part of the nation, who search and judge of things for themselves, were made easy on these points, and allowed to think and speak of the popular doctrines of the Church, what they find agreeable to fact and the testimony of their senses, it would be the most effectual means of silencing those uncharitable disputes and dissensions, which are so frequent among us, on subjects generally so trifling, as to be unworthy of the zeal or attention of a Christian, or so subtil and abstruse, as to be incomprehensible to all, and unfit therefore, to be the objects of faith to any. The arbitrary imposition of opinions naturally creates a reluctance to the reception of them ; and as in the collision of bodies, so of minds, the repelling force is equal to that, which impells : but if opi-

nions were proposed to the public, with a latitude of interpretation, which left every one at liberty, to receive them according to his own sense, and to embrace them either as true, or to acquiesce in them as expedient; it would cut off both the pretence, and the inclination to wrangle about them; and we should enjoy them with the same ease, as we do the common air or water, take just as much of them, as we please, without offence or injury to any one else. By this means the virtuous and the liberal would become united in affection, as well as opinion, and live not only with more charity towards each other, but by their example and moderation would lead the multitude also by degrees into more reasonable notions of religious duties; so far at least, as to prevent them from being seduced into any extravagance of zeal and principles, either Popish or Fanatical, which might create danger and disturbance to the peace of the kingdom.

The chief argument, by which the Papists draw our people from us, is the authority of the Catholic Church, supported by a perpetual succession of miracles, wrought in confirmation of those very rites and doctrines, which are now taught and practised at *Rome*. In confutation of which, I have shewn in a former Volume, how that whole system of worship, which we call Popery, and which distinguishes the religion of *Rome*, from that of Protestants, derived it's birth from Paganism, and the corruption of the primitive ages; was grounded on craft and fraud, and has been supported ever since by false and fictitious miracles. All which is so evident, from the clearest testimonies of antiquity, that it could not fail of extirpating Popery at once, out of every country, where it now prevails, if the power and policy of particular States did not find an interest in maintaining, what reason and religion jointly reject.

The

The other evil of Fanatical Enthusiasm, which has once overturned our whole constitution, and is now again at work towards the same end, is grounded chiefly on false notions, infused into weak minds, concerning those extraordinary gifts and illuminations, which were conferred upon the Apostles and first converts to Christianity ; and, as these Enthusiasts also affirm, are still indulged in a large measure to themselves. Which extravagance I have endeavoured likewise to correct, in that same Volume, by shewing, that those miraculous gifts of the Gospel, of whatever kind they were, or for whatever purposes given, were peculiar to the circumstances of the Apostolic times, and never afterwards granted to any succeeding age : which same point I shall still farther illustrate, in the present Volume, where I shall explaine the nature of those wonderful powers, in their original and most flourishing state ; when they were exercised by the Apostles themselves ; which appears to be very little understood, or rather very much mistaken by the generality of modern Divines ; who, when pressed by the Adversaries of religion with difficulties, which they cannot readily solve, commonly take shelter under the authority of divine Inspiration, and the necessity of an implicit submission to the testimony of God.

But as this way of reasoning cannot be of any force with unbelievers, till the disputants be first agreed, both in their notion of Inspiration, and the certainty also of the fact, *that the Sacred writers were under the constant influence of it* ; so to those, who conceive either a different sense of the word, or a different opinion of the thing, it is a mere *begging of the question*, and serves onely to weaken the evidence of our faith. My design therefore in this particular volume is, to correct the mistakes which commonly prevail on this article of Inspiration :

and to inquire how far the Apostles and Evangelists appear to have been favored with it, and to have acted under the immediate direction of an infallible spirit. In the illustration of which, I have not insisted so much on the texts of Scripture, which, by refined and forced constructions, may frequently admit a variety of senses, and leave room for endless wrangling, as on the facts there recorded, which seem decisive and demonstrative of the point, into which I am inquiring.

For instance: no man, who is conversant with the New Testament, has ever scrupled to own, that before our Lord's Ascension, the Apostles, generally speaking, were in the condition of all other men, subject to frailty, error and sin. For we find them sometimes envying and reproving one another; ignorant of their master's purpose; blundering about his words and meaning; and out of fear at last deserting and denying him. Which facts manifestly prove, that during this period of their Apostleship, they were not under the perpetual guidance of the Holy Ghost: tho', in the same interval, they were indued, on certain occasions, with the miraculous power, of *casting out Devils, raising the dead, and curing all diseases.*

After our Lord's Ascension, it is allowed again by all, that they were indued with a larger portion of the same divine gifts; by which their faith was confirmed, their understandings enlightened, their power of working miracles enlarged. But the quæstion still is, how far this larger measure of power reached, and whether to an absolute infallibility and freedom from error: which must be determined by the same rule, by which we formed our judgement on the other period of their ministry; that is, by the facts and instances of their behaviour, delivered to us either by themselves or the other sacred writers. And if under this larger effusion of the Holy Ghost, we find

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the same marks of frailty upon them, as before : if we find them differing from each other in points of fact, and sometimes from themselves in points of doctrine ; quarrelling, disputing and temporizing, contrary to the truth of the Gospel, we shall be obliged from the same premises to draw the same conclusion, that they were not under the continual direction of an unerring spirit, but left still on ordinary occasions to the condition of ordinary men.

This is what I have particularly set forth in the two following Inquiries by the evidence of facts and instances, which clearly demonstrate it, when stripped of the glosses and forced interpretations, which Commentators had fastened upon them in favor of their several systems and prejudices. And by the same method I have endeavoured also to explaine, in a particular Essay, the genuin state of the Gift of tongues, and all the other miraculous gifts, from the original history and effects of them, as they are described in the New Testament : from which it appears, that they were not permanent or lasting, but temporary onely, and adapted to special occasions, and when these were served, suspended presently or withdrawn from the persons, who had been indued with them.

Such was the information, which I received, many years ago, from my inquiries into these subjects : which has appeared ever since so convincing to me, that I have been induced at last, to offer the same to the public ; from a persuasion, that it may be of no small service to prevent, or to shorten at least many of our disputes, as well by admonishing the Advocates of our religion, not to build their defence of it on a foundation, that will certainly fail them, as by letting it's Adversaries also see, that tho' we grant them the greatest part of what their objections seem to aim at, the *genuin grounds and reasons of Christianity* will yet remain firm and unshaken.

S O M E

SOME
CURSORY REFLECTIONS
ON THE
DISPUTE or DISSENSION

Which happened at

A N T I O C H,

Between the

APOSTLES *PETER* and *PAUL*.

THE history of this dissension between the two Apostles; *St. Peter and St. Paul*, is related by *Paul* himself, in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, in the following Words.

C H A P. II.

- xi. *But when Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.*
- xii. *For before that certain men came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles : but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them, who were of the circumcision.*
- xiii. *And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation.*
- xiv. *But when I saw, that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all ; if thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles, to live as do the Jews ? &c.*

REFLECTIONS on the Dispute

This fact is not mentioned in any other part of the New Testament: for *St. Luke*, who wrote the *Acts of the Apostles*, under the immediate direction of *St. Paul*, and describes the actions of this Apostle more largely than of all the rest, has not given the least hint of it; so that it is difficult to determine the time when it happened. We read indeed of great numbers converted to the faith of Christ at *Antioch*, by the ministry of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and of very high debates subsisting there, between the Jewish and Gentile converts, about the observance of the Mosaic rites [a]. But it is certain, that *Peter* was not concerned in those debates; for *Barnabas*, who was now carried away by his authority into the same dissimulation with him, was, at the time of those other disputes, a strenuous Advocate for Christian liberty, and being sent up with *Paul* to *Jerusalem*, to consult the Apostles and Elders concerning this very question, found *Peter* there, the first and forwardest in that Council, to declare his opinion, which the rest of them followed, that *since an end was now put to the difference between Jew and Gentile, they ought not to tempt God, by imposing that yoke upon the Gentiles, which the Jews themselves had not been able to bear* [b]. And in truth, all that we read concerning *Peter*, except in this single instance related by *Paul*, is intirely consonant to that declaration at *Jerusalem*, and shews him, to have been more eminently convinced than the rest of his brethren, of the utter abolition of the Jewish ceremonies. For this was signified to him by a particular revelation from heaven, in consequence of which, he was the first, who opened the door of faith to the Gentiles, by baptizing *Cornelius* and his family [c]: And in the Council at *Jerusalem*, was the mover of that opinion and Apostolic decree, by which the Gentile converts were set free from the Yoke of *Moses*: Yet notwithstanding all this conviction and zeal for Christian liberty, we find him temporizing still for fear of the Jews, and on that account openly accused of hypocrisy and prevarication by *St. Paul*.

[a] Acts xv. 1, 2.

[b] Ib. v. 7, 8.

[c] Acts x.

It is certain however, that, from the earliest ages of the Church, this story has been a constant topic of raillery to the Sceptics and unbelievers. *Porphyry*, the old enemy of our religion takes occasion from it, “ to charge *Paul* with assuming falsely to himself “ the merit of facts, which never really happened, in order to “ extoll his own character and depress *Peter’s*, out of envy to “ his more eminent virtues: or allowing the fact to be true, to “ accuse *Paul* of insolence and rashness, in reproving his superior “ for a compliance, of which he himself was notoriously guilty: “ or lastly, to impute to both these great Apostles, a levity, in- “ constancy, and weakness of mind, which betrayed them into “ a conduct, unworthy of their sacred character [a].”

These objections were thought so dishonorable to Christianity by some of the antient Fathers, that many nice and subtil interpretations were invented to evade the force of them. One of the first, which was applied to this purpose, in those primitive ages, was, the supposition of another person, of the name of *Cephas*, besides the Apostle, one of the seventy Disciples, eminent for his zeal and piety, with whom *Paul* had this dispute. This is mentioned by *Eusebius*, on the authority of *Clemens of Alexandria* [b]: and it is observed by the Critics, that tho’ we now find the name of *Peter* in all our present copies of this text, yet many of them, in the first ages, had *Cephas* in the place of it: for nothing could possibly give birth to the hypothesis above mentioned, of a different person from the Apostle, but the name of *Cephas* in that place, which was inserted probably for that very reason, of silencing the cavils of adversaries [c].

But

[a] Locum dari Porphyrio blasphemandi, si aut Petrum errasse, aut Paulum procaciter Apostolorum principem confutasse credatur. Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. c. 2.

Ut blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coerceret; qui Paulum & Petrum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine; immo,

exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri; & ea scripsisse jactanter, quæ vel non fecerit, vel si fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens, quod ipse commiserit. Hieron.

[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12.

[c] Vid. Millii Edit. Nov. Testam. & not. in loc. N. B. As this reading of the Greek

REFLECTIONS on the *Dispute*

But the supposition of another *Cephas*, distinct from the Apostle, of whom there was no mention in the Gospel, nor any authentic account in history, was an argument too precarious to satisfy men of judgement: for which reason we find it disclaimed by some of the primitive Fathers. “We know no other *Cephas*,” says *Jerom*, but him, who, in the Gospel and the Epistles, is “sometimes called *Cephas* and sometimes *Peter*: both which” names, the one *Greek*, the other *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, are of the “same import. And if on the account of *Porphyry*’s blasphemy, “and lest *Peter* should be thought to have erred, we must presently feign another *Cephas*, we shall have work enough upon “our hands, in expunging numberless places of the holy Scriptures, which he finds fault with, because he does not understand [a].”

St.

Greek text was contrived to clear *Peter*’s character from the blame here ascribed to him, so we have another instance, in this same Chapter, of a similar accommodation of the old Latin text, made to clear *Paul*’s character also “from the charge of inconsistency: by means of which the Greek and Latin Copies exhibited the 5th verse in a sense directly contrary to each other; the Greek, in that, which our English translation follows;

To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour.

The Latin, without the negative particle;

To whom we gave way, by yielding to them for a season.

Which last sense is suitable indeed to the place, and what one would naturally expect from the verse preceding, which seems to assign a reason for a temporary compliance of the Apostle: and it is agreeable also to fact and the real history of St. *Paul*’s conduct, from which it appears,

that he did actually comply on certain occasions, and yield for a time to the prejudices of the Jews, in order to appease their resentment against him. [*Acts* xvi. 3. xviii. 18. xxi. 26.] So that several of the ancient Fathers preferred this reading and sense of the text: but after this contrariety between the Greek and Latin copies had subsisted through the seven first centuries of the Church, the authority of the Greek at last prevailed, as being more consonant to the general doctrine and tenor of this Epistle.

Itaque aut juxta Græcos Codices est legendum, quibus neque ad horam, aut, si latini exemplaris fides alicui placet,—secundum superiorem sensum accipere debemus, ut ad horam cessio, &c. Hieron. Comment. ad hoc.

Rationibus certe istiusmodi ductos puto, qui primi, jam inde ab ipsis Christianismi primordiis, textum hunc corrumpere, &c. Vid. Millii Edit. & Not. in loc.

[a] Quibus respondendum; alterius, nescio

between the Apostles PETER and PAUL.

St. Chrysostom shews likewise, from the circumstances of the fact itself, that it must have been the Apostle *Peter*, who was concerned in it; because no other person could have had authority enough, to draw the *Jews and Barnabas* also into his party. [a] Let us inquire then what were the sentiments of these Fathers on this story, and in what manner they interpreted it, so as to elude the calumnies of *Perphyry*.

Chrysostom, who makes it the subject of a Homily, preached by him in that very City, where it was transacted, takes great pains to shew, “ that this seeming quarrel between the two Apostles, was wholly feigned and dissembled, and had been concerted beforehand between them with great art and prudence, for the sake of the converted Jews. For *Peter* knowing, that he should give much scandal to those, who came from *Jerusalem*, as being more zealous and stiff in their prejudices than the Provincial Jews, if he should bluntly require them, to quit the whole observance of their ceremonies, and live in common with the Gentiles, chose rather to comply with them for a while, for the sake of insinuating himself the more effectually into their favor and esteem: but that he might draw them and himself too the sooner out of a compliance, which he really condemned, he begged of *Paul*, to expostulate with him for it very sharply in public, that from his silence and patience under such a reproof, the Jews might infer a tacit acknowledgement of his error, and by observing, that he had nothing to say, in defence of their conduct, might be convinced, that it was not right, and so be induced to change it.”

This plot then having had it's effect in *Antioch*, *St. Paul*, according to *Chrysostom*, applies it here again to the benefit of the *Galatians*, and with the same view, with which he had before been an actor in it, he now gives a relation of it in writing;

nescio cujus, Cephæ nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus, qui in Evangelio, & in aliis Pauli Epistolis, & in hac quoque ipsa, modo Ce-

phas, modo Petrus scribitur, &c. Hieron. ib.

[a] Homil. Oper. Tom. 3. p. 363. Edit. Benedict.

“dissembling still the real state of it, that the *Galatians* perceiving how severely *Peter* himself had been reprov’d, for his compliance with the ceremonies of the law, might be the more confirmed and resolute in the rejection of them [a].”

Jerom’s opinion of this affair is much the same with *Chrysostom’s*; “that this quarrel was but a fiction contrived privately between the two Apostles, for the benefit of their new converts. *Peter’s* commission was more particularly directed to the Jews, *Paul’s* to the Gentiles: And though both of them were equally concerned and zealous to promote the common cause of the Gospel, yet each was more specially oblig’d, to secure the salvation of those, who were specially committed to his care. Wherefore, as there were great jealousies and contests between the two factions of the Jewish and Gentile converts, about the observance of the Mosaic rites, so it was concerted by the Apostles, that *Peter*, in order to keep the Jews united to himself and to the faith of Christ, should outwardly declare himself on their side, and pretend a zeal for their principles: and lest the Gentiles on the other hand, should be drawn by his authority to imitate his conduct, *Paul* was to oppose him warmly in public, for the sake of keeping his party likewise intire, and preserving his credit with them; so that, by their mutual dissimulation, both sides might in the end be saved [b]. This he illustrates by the example of the Lawyers, who seem often to scold and quarrel with each other, when they mean nothing more, than to deceive the by-standers, and gain the greater credit with their Clients, by an affected zeal for the cause, which they have undertaken to defend [c]. If any one thinks, says he, that *Paul* did really withstand *Peter*, and out

[a] Homil. Oper. Tom. 3. p. 363. Edit. Benedict.

[b] Sed, ut ante diximus, restitit secundum faciem publicam Petro: ut hypocrisis observandæ legis, quæ nocebat eis, qui ex Gentibus crediderant, correctionis hypocrisis emendaretur, & uterque populus

salvus fieret, &c. — Unde & Paulus eadem arte, qua ille simulabat, ei restitit in faciem, &c. Hieron. Comm. in loc.

[c] Ut omisissis sæpe negotiis, in proprias contumelias verterentur, & joculari se invicem dente morderent, &c. ibid.

“ of zeal for the truth of the Gospel, did boldly insult his superior, he will not be able to account for *Paul's* conduct, when to the Jews he became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews; who must be condemned of the same hypocrisy, when he shaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and paid his vow on that occasion in the Temple, and circumcised *Timothy*, the Son of a Gentile, &c. — and with what face could he have the assurance, to condemn that in *Peter*, the Apostle of the Jews, which he himself was guilty of, tho' the Apostle of the Gentiles [a] ?” Such were the sentiments of *St. Jerom*, which he explains at large in his commentary on the Epistle to the *Galatians* : but this solution of the matter was greatly censured by *St. Austin*, and gave occasion to an Epistolary controversy upon it, between these two great Doctors of the primitive Church.

St. Austin charges it “ with being nothing else, but a defence of useful and seasonable lying : and insists, that if *Paul* knew *Peter* to be innocent, at the same time when he declared him to be blameable, and not to act according to the truth of the Gospel, it was in reality a lie : which it is impious, to charge upon an Apostle ; and especially in an Epistle, where he calls God to witness, that he does not lie. He shews also the pernicious consequence of such a doctrine, and that it would destroy the authority of the Scripture itself, by making it impossible to distinguish, between it's real and dissembled meaning : for the prevention of which evil, he exhorts *Jerom* to a recantation. As for his own part, he allows *Peter* to have been blameable, yet not for continuing with his countrymen, to observe the traditions of their Ancestors ; which he might have

[a] Si putat aliquis vere Paulum Petro restitisse, & pro veritate Evangelii intrepide injuriam fecisse Præcessori ; non ei stabit illud, quod & ipse Paulus, Judæis Judæus factus est, ut Judæos lucrifaceret, & ejusdem simulationis tenebitur reus, &c.—

qua auctoritate, qua fronte audet hoc in Petro reprehendere, qui Circumcisionis Apostolus erat, quod ipse, Apostolus Gentium, arguitur commisisse. Hieron. Comm. in loc.

"done both innocently and consistently, but for obliging the Gentiles to observe them also in the same manner [a]."

Jerom, on the contrary, persisted in his opinion, which he confirmed by many arguments, as well as the testimonies of all the best Interpreters before him; "challenging *Austin*, to produce any one good author of a contrary sentiment; and declaring, that it would have been the greatest impudence and audaciousness in *Paul*, to reprove *Peter* so smartly for practices, of which he himself was more eminently guilty. And as for *Austin's* opinion, concerning the expediency of observing the rites of the Law, he treats it as a mere Heresy, and the same, for which *Corinthus* and *Ebion* had been condemned by the Church [b]."

But notwithstanding the great authority of these renowned Saints *Chrysostom* and *Jerom*, it is certain, that their interpretation of this story is unnatural and absurd; contrived to support the vulgar hypothesis, that the Apostles could not err: which they themselves own to have been the sole end and purpose of it [c]. *Austin* indeed comes nearer to the truth, in allowing *Peter* to have been in a fault: yet lest the same should be retorted also on *Paul*, with the addition of rashness and inconstancy, for condemning in his fellow-Apostle, what he himself practised afterwards, he has hit upon an expedient, which lessens the crime of the one,

[a] Patrocinium mendacii susceptum esse, vel a te tali viro, vel a quopiam, si alius ista scripsit; fateor non mediocriter doleo, &c. Epist. August. ad Hieron. Oper. Hieron. T. 4. par. 2. Ep. LXV. p. 602.

Arripe, obsecro te, ingenuam & vere Christianam severitatem & παλινοδίαν, ut dicitur, cane. Ibid. Ep. LXVII. p. 606.

Quapropter non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones observaret, quod si facere vellet nec mendaciter nec incongrue faceret — Sed quoniam gentes coge-
bat Judaizare, &c. ibid.

[b] Quum me erroris mei multos socios habere perspexeris, tu veritatis tuæ saltem unum adstipulatorem adferre debbis — Hæc est summa sententiæ tuæ, ut post Evangelium Christi benefaciant Judæi credentes, si legis mandata custodiant — si hoc verum est, in Cerinthi & Ebionis hæresim delahimur. Ibid. Ep. 74.

[c] Quod si cui iste non placet sensus, quo nec Petrus peccasse, nec Paulus pro-caciter arguisse majorem ostenditur. Hieron. in Gal. ii. It. Chrysost. T. 3. p. 363. Edit. Bened.

and clears the other from any share of it, by alledging: that *Peter's* fault did not lie in his compliance with the Jewish rites, but in *imposing the same also upon the Gentiles* [a]. An interpretation, neither agreeable to the particular sense of that Epistle, nor to the general doctrine of the Apostles; which expressly annuls all the ceremonies of the Law, not only as useless, but as noxious to all Christians whatsoever, as well of Jewish, as Gentile extraction; and which *Jerom* therefore treats, as nothing better than Heresy.

The modern Commentators, who for the most part do little more than copy the Antients, range themselves here generally on the one side and the other, under *Jerom* and *Austin*. Some indeed take no notice at all of this passage; either finding nothing to say upon it, that pleased them, or fearing perhaps to give offence, by saying what they found to be true. *Erasmus* observes, that it is a very difficult place, and had puzzled the most learned of the Greeks, how to explaine it: and as he thought fit on this occasion to adhere to the common hypothesis, *that the Apostles, after they had once received the Holy Ghost could not err in points of doctrine*; so he follows the explication of *Chrysostom*, and improves still upon it, by straining the words of the text, as some other Critics have also done, so as to make them signify even to the *Galatians*, that the dispute was wholly feigned and concerted between the two Apostles. For the words, which we rightly translate; *I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed*; they interpret thus; *I withstood him seemingly, or in outward appearance, because he was blamed by some, who did not understand the reason of his conduct* [b]. But they do not reflect, that this forced interpretation is contrary to the whole argument of this Epistle, the purpose of which is, to move the *Galatians* by his own example, to stand firm in their Christian liberty, against those false

[a] Non quia servabat consuetudinem Judæorum, sed quia Gentibus eam volebat imponere. Aug. Exposit. in Gal. ii. 11.

[b] Certe locus est obscurus, qui doctissimos Græciæ magnopere torquescit. — Sed

Apostolos, post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum, errasse in dogmatibus fidei, mihi videtur dictu impium, &c. Vid. *Erasm.* in Galat. ii. 11, 14. vid. it. *Clarium.* ib. v. xi.

teachers, who were attempting to impose the Yoke of Moses upon them. If in this place therefore, as these interpreters contend, he meant to signify, that, when he withstood *Peter* so warmly, he was acting onely a feigned part, that would destroy the force of his own reasoning.

Grotius, tho' generally speaking the most rational of the Commentators, yet in this passage, seems to have been affected with the popular prejudice, or unwilling at least, out of regard to it, to declare his own sentiments with freedom. For by mitigating the fault of *Peter*, and softening the harshness of *Paul's* censure upon him, he labors to dress up the whole, into the case onely of an amicable debate, or friendly expostulation, about a thing in itself indifferent; which, to say nothing of the rest, the fourteenth verse will by no means bear [a].

On the whole, we may observe; how impossible it is for men even of the greatest learning and piety, to interpret Scripture with success, when they come to it prepossessed with systems, which they are list as it were to defend, as necessary parts of the Christian religion; for instead of searching candidly for the true meaning of the text, they come provided with senses, which they are obliged to ingraft upon it; till by a practice and habit of wresting the Scripture on all occasions, they acquire a dexterity of extracting what doctrines they please out of it.

The case now before us affords a remarkable instance of it. There is not a fact in all the Scriptures, more clearly, expressly, and intelligibly delivered than this, into which we are inquiring: and if it were found in any other book but the Bible, or told of any other persons, but the Apostles, it would be understood at once, without the possibility of a mistake, by all, even of the lowest capacity. Yet this plain story, related in a book, which above all others, is calculated for the universal instruction and benefit of mankind, has puzzled both the Greeks, and the Latins of all ages, and been strained and tortured by the ablest Doctors

[a] Ἀνίστην, hic intelligendum verbis amicis, &c. Grot. ib. v. xi.

of the Church, for the sake of squeezing out of it every possible sense, but the true one. For which no other cause can be assigned but this; that in the degeneracy of the Primitive Church, when by the policy or superstition of its leaders, new rites and doctrines were introduced, which the text of Scripture disclaimed; then reason and sense were of course discarded, and no rule of interpreting admitted, but what tallied with the fashionable systems, and served the views of those, who introduced them.

I shall proceed therefore, without any farther regard to the prejudices and interpretations either of the ancients or moderns to set forth the real state of this fact, as it is declared by St. *Paul*, and illustrated by other passages of the New Testament.

It is manifest then in the first place, that *Peter*, tho' more particularly the Apostle of the Jews, was clearly convinced, that the Ceremonies of the Law were superseded and abolished by the Dispensation of the Gospel. For on all occasions, we find him strongly asserting this doctrine, and declaring, that *the Yoke of Moses* ought not to be imposed on the necks of Christians: yet with all this conviction, it is equally manifest, that through fear of the Jews, he was induced, as we have seen above, to change his conduct, dissemble his opinion, and join himself to those Zealots of the Law, who required the observance of its rites, as necessary still to all [a].

Paul, on the other hand, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and, by that character, the more engaged to vindicate their liberty, knowing *Peter's* sentiments on this question to be really the same with his own, was so scandalised at his dissimulation, that he could not abstain from reproaching him very severely for it in public: yet when it came afterwards to his own turn, to be alarmed with an apprehension of danger from the same quarter, he was content to comply and dissemble too, and in order to pacify the Jews, af-

[a] See Cave's Life of St. Pet. §. viii. c. 7. it. Archbishop Wake on the Epist. of Barnabas, c. x, xi. p. 65.

Timens ergo eos segregabat se a genti-

bus, & simulate illis consentiebat, ad imponenda Gentibus illa onera servitutis. Auguft. in Galat. ii. 11..

fectcd a zeal for their legal rites and observances, by the advice of *James*, who then presided in the Church of *Jerusalem* [a]. *Paul*, says *Chrysostom*, was various both in his words and actions; at one time he complied with the ceremonies of the Law; at another he contemned them: at one time he sacrificed and shaved his head; at another he denounced anathema's against all, who did so: at one time he circumcised, at another rejected all circumcision [b].

We may observe however by the way, that the conduct of *Paul* was not so guarded and cautious as that of *Peter*, who seems to have better understood the true Spirit of his Countrymen, and to what extravagance their enthusiastic zeal would carry them, if provoked and pushed to extremity: he recollected that they had stoned *Stephen*, for declaring, that *Jesus* came to change those customs, which *Moses* had established, and he took care therefore, to give way to them in time, when his compliance was likely to prevent the danger, which he apprehended: whereas *Paul* had carried his zeal for Christian liberty so far, and declared himself every where so roundly against the ceremonies of the law, both by preaching and writing, that when he was driven afterwards to a change of conduct, his dissimulation proved too late, and instead of pacifying the Jews, provoked them onely the more; so that they laid violent hands upon him in the Temple, and would certainly have destroyed him, if the Chief Captain had not come to his rescue with a band of soldiers [c].

This is the true state, of the case, as it may clearly be collected from several passages of the New Testament: and whatever use the enemies of religion can make of it, they must enjoy it, since Christianity cannot be defended, either by denying or concealing the truth. Let the disciples then of *Porphyry*, after the example of their master, object to us if they please, that these two Apostles, of whose extraordinary gifts and miracles we read so much, were left on many occasions, like all other frail and fal-

[a] Acts xxi. 18.

laudib. Pauli. p. 502. Edit. Benedict.

[b] Chrysost. Oper. T. 2. Homil. de

[c] Act. xxi. 31.

lible men, to govern themselves by rules and maxims merely human, and were betrayed sometimes by their passions, into compliances, dishonorable to their character : for should we grant them all this, it cannot be of any hurt or discredit to Christianity, unless they could shew it to be one of it's doctrines, that persons extraordinarily illuminated and inspired on certain occasions, did on all occasions cease to be men : which will not be pretended in a religion, whose sacred monuments, both of the Old and New Testament, furnish many instances of the sins and frailties of those, who are there celebrated, as the principal favorites of heaven.

It may be objected still farther, that, whatever notions we may entertain concerning the inspiration of the sacred writers, it is evident from this very case, that the Apostles and first Preachers were not constantly inspired by the Holy Ghost, even in the execution of their ministry, and the propagation of the Gospel, in one of the principal Cities of the East : and this too must necessarily be granted, since it is demonstrably proved by the fact, into which we are inquiring : for if *Peter's* conduct was really blameable, we must necessarily allow, that he was not at that time under the guidance of an unerring Spirit ; or if it was not blameable, then *Paul's* censure of him was rash and unjust, and could not be suggested by the same Spirit.

The same conclusion may be drawn from many other passages of the New Testament ; from *Paul's* behaviour before the High Priest, where he was guilty of a rudeness and indecency, which he himself condemns [a] : from his sharp contention with *Barnabas*, who had been joined in commission with him by the Holy Ghost, and was extraordinarily inspired by the same Spirit : *which could not have happened, says Erasmus, without some fault, on the one side or the other.* Their quarrel was about *Mark*, supposed to be the same, who wrote the Gospel ; whom *Paul* looked upon as a desertor, and would not keep company with any longer ;

[a] Acts xxiii. 5.

but *Barnabas* had a different opinion of him, and chose him for his associate; upon which they parted in anger from each other [a]. *Paul* on this occasion was more severe, says *Jerom*, *Barnabas* more mild; both of them abound in their own sense; yet the quarrel has something in it of human frailty [b].

It appears also, from the account of these disputes in the Church of *Antioch*, that these same Apostles, who planted Christianity in that City, had never made any pretension to an infallible Spirit, nor their converts, who paid the utmost reverence to their persons, had ever entertained a thought of ascribing it to them. For we find, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had not authority enough with them, to put an end to their contentions about the exercise of the Jewish ceremonies, till they were sent on a formal embassy to *Jerusalem*, to receive the judgement of the whole assembly of the Apostles and Elders residing there, on the subject of their disputes.

As it is certain then, from many testimonies of the New Testament, that the Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel were indued occasionally with extraordinary powers and supernatural assistances by the Holy Ghost; so it is as certain, from other testimonies, that they were not perpetually assisted in the same extraordinary manner, but frequently left, like common men, to regulate their conduct by their own natural prudence [c].

We

[a] Acts xv. 12, 39. Quod fieri non potuit nisi alterutro errante. *Erasm.* in loc. it. in Matt. ii. 6.

[b] Paulus severior, ille clementior: uterque in suo sensu abundat: tamen dissensio habet aliquid humanæ fragilitatis. *Hieron. Oper. T. 4. par. 2. p. 522.*

[c] The case appears to have been the same also under the Jewish Dispensation; that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, did not perpetually reside in those, to whom they had once been communicated. For example; *Samuel*, when he was sent to anoint a King over *Israel*, out

of the family of *Jesse*, did not know the particular person, to whom his commission was addressed, but, upon the sight of *Jesse's* sons, as they were produced before him, did, what all other men would naturally do; gave the preference in his own mind to him, who by the superior comeliness of his person, seemed the best qualified to sustain the Regal dignity; till he was convinced of his mistake by a special revelation, and directed to *David*, whom God had destined to that honor. [1 Sam. xvi. 6.]

Thus

We read sometimes, how the Prophets also of the Old Testament, as well as the Preachers of the New, were indued with a miraculous vigor of body, far above the force of nature; so as to perform great journeys without fatigue, great fastings, without hunger, and support life, without the supply of it's ordinary food; yet at other times, the same men were subject to all the common wants and infirmities of nature; to hunger and thirst; to pain and sickness; to age and decay. The case was the same with the faculties of their minds; whenever God thought fit to make use of their ministry, for the extraordinary purposes of his Providence, he enlarged and enlightened their understandings, and inspired them with a knowledge, incapable of error: yet at other times, left them wholly destitute of any supernatural assistance, and liable to all the effects of their natural passions. It is as extravagant therefore, and contradictory to the testimony of Scripture, to believe the prophets and Apostles to have been at all times incapable of error, because they were sometimes guided by an unerring Spirit; as to imagine, that they were always exempted.

Thus also, when *David* had taken a resolution, to build a Temple to the Lord, the Prophet *Nathan*, whom he consulted upon it, approved the project without any hesitation, and encouraged him to execute it. But in that same night, he was ordered by a special revelation from God, to go back to the King, with a command to him, to desist from his design. [2 Sam. vii. 3. 1 Chron. xxii. 8.]

Thus again, when the *Shunamite* woman addressed herself, in a passionate manner, to *Elisba*, upon the death of her Son, the Prophet surprized at her distress, declares, that God had hidden the matter from him, and seems anxious, to know the cause of her great affliction. [2 Kings iv. 27.] Lastly, from the transaction between the two Prophets, at *Bethel*; it is evident, first,

that their divine Inspiration or Commission was limited to particular purposes, beyond which it had no effect: 2dly, that Prophets, tho' inspired and employed by God on some occasions, yet on others, might be guilty not onely of weak but bad actions. [1 Kings c. xiii.] agreeably to which facts, *Grotius* observes, that the Prophetic Spirit was but seldom resident in the Prophets, just as God thought fit; nor were the Prophets certain, at what time they were to have it: of which we see instances, in *Nathan*, *Samuel*, *Isaiab*, [Acts ii. 3.] Dr. *Lightfoot* also says, that tho' their power was great, they could neither do nor tell all things, nor act on all occasions, but always had their bounds, and sometimes a recess of the Spirit, or a departure of it from them.

REFLECTIONS on the Dispute

from fatigue, or hunger, because the effect of those sensations was sometimes miraculously suspended in them.

Erasmus, tho' in some places he seems disposed to support the vulgar hypothesis, *that the Apostles could not err*; and like all other Commentators, endeavours, by forced constructions, to adapt the sense of Scripture to that system; yet, in other places, where, like a true Critic, he delivers his sentiments with freedom, he expressly asserts, what I have here advanced; that the Apostles, on ordinary occasions, were not different from ordinary men, but subject to ignorance and error; and from the case of this very dissension between *Paul* and *Peter*, shews, *that they were capable of erring, even after they had received the Holy Ghost* [a]. The learned Mr. *Dodwell* also declares, "that neither the Apostles, nor
" the Prophets even of the first order, were perpetually inspired,
" or had the miraculous gifts of God at their command; and that
" all things therefore, which they have signified to us by their
" words or deeds, are not to be considered as divine Oracles [b].
" There never was a Prophet, says he, except Christ, who, in
" all his actions, was directed by a prophetic Spirit; nor ever
" any, who was not liable to human errors, where he was
" guided onely by his own human Spirit. *Barnabas* erred,
" *St. Peter* also erred, and *St. Paul*, an Apostle not inferior to
" him, affirms him to have erred, tho' they were indued
" with the Apostolic, or the very highest degree of the extra-
" ordinary gifts [c].

[a] *Erasm.* in *Act. x. 38.* Etiam post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum, objurgatur ac docetur Petrus a Paulo: Paulus a Barnaba dissentit usque ad divorcium.

[b] *Dixeram* — ne quidem Apostolis, aut summi ordinis Prophetis fuisse ad nutum aut pro arbitrio suo, divini Numinis afflatus; nec adeo omnia, quæcunque dictis significarunt aut factis, ea pro divinis oraculis habenda. *Præf. in Diss. Irén. §. ii.*

[c] Nullus, excepto Domino, fuit unquam Propheta, qui omnia egerit Spiritu prophetico. Nullus, qui in his, quæ suo gesserit humano spiritui, non fuerit etiam erroribus obnoxius humanis. Erravit Barnabas: Erravit etiam S. Petrus, cumque errasse confirmat, non minor Apostolus, S. Paulus, supremo licet extraordinariorum donorum gradu Apostolico præditi. *Diss. Irén. 2. §. iii. p. 95.*

Some zealots indeed, on the other hand, contend, that to give up the perpetual inspiration of the sacred writers, is to betray the cause of Christianity, and to give up the authority of the Scriptures themselves; and that there is a necessity to admit or reject the whole, as divinely inspired; since partial inspiration will be found equivalent in the end to no inspiration at all. And this indeed is the general doctrine of those, who assume to themselves the title of orthodox: but it is so far from being of service to Christianity, that it has always been, and ever will be, a clog and incumbrance to it, with all rational and thinking men: and to impose it, as necessary to the Creed of a Christian, and on the authority of those sacred books, in which every one may see the apparent marks of human frailty, not onely in the stile and language, but sometimes also in the matter of them, can have no other effect, but of reducing us to the dilemma of distrusting either those books, or our senses.

But this notion is not onely inconsistent with the facts above-mentioned, but contradictory even to those very writers, to whom it is ascribed: for it is certain, that the Evangelists make not the least pretension to it, and the Apostles on some occasions expressly disclame it [a]. *St. Paul*, in this same Epistle to the *Galatians*, says, *I speak after the manner of men*. On which *St. Jerom* observes, “that he makes good what he says, and by his low and “vulgar way of reasoning, might have given offence to understanding men, if he had not prefaced it, as he does, by signifying, that he was delivering onely his own human sentiments [b].”

And as this Apostle was sometimes destitute of the divine assistance, in the explication of particular doctrines, so it is as evident also, that, on other occasions, he was deprived of the power of working miracles.

[a] 1 Cor. vii. 12, 25. 2 Cor. xi. 17. Rom. iii. 5. vi. 19.

[b] Gal. iii. 15. Unde manifestum est, id fecisse Apostolum, quod promisit; nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus,

sed quotidianis & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi præmisisset secundum hominem dico, prudentibus displicere. Hieron. Comment. in loc. Oper. T. 4. p. 261.

REFLECTIONS *on the Dispute, &c.*

The Apostles, says Erasmus, did not always raise the dead; did not always cure the sick; but then onely, when the cause of religion and of the Gospel required it [a]. St. Paul acquaints Timothy, that he had left Trophimus behind him sick, on his journey towards Rome; at a time when he most wanted the comfort and assistance of his friends; being deserted, as he complains, by some of them, and forced to send others to the work of the ministry: and it cannot be supposed, that in such a distress, and want of attendants, he would have left his disciple and companion in that sick state, if he had been indued at that time, as we find him to have been at others, with a miraculous power of healing diseases [b]. In short, this notion of the universal inspiration of the Apostles and sacred Writers, appears to have no other foundation; but in the mistaken sense of certain texts, suggested by the prejudices of pious men, who greedily embrace an hypothesis, which seems to advance the honor of religion, and furnishes, at the same time, the shortest and easiest method of silencing all objections to it, by the infallible authority of persons inspired by God. But this same question will be more clearly and largely illustrated in my next inquiry.

[a] Non semper excitabant mortuos, non semper sanabant ægrotos, sed tum demum, cum ad religionis & Evangelii negotium pertinebat. *Erasm. in Act. x. 38.*

[b] 2 Tim. iv. 20. *Epaphroditus* also, whom *St. Paul* calls *his brother and companion in labor, and fellow-soldier*, is said to have been dangerously sick, and nigh unto death, to the great grief of *the Apostle* and

of the Philippians also, to whom he sent him with his Epistle, soon after his recovery. [*Philip. ii. 25.*] And in the case likewise of *Timothy*, instead of confirming his health by his miraculous power over all diseases, we find *Paul* advising him onely, to drink a little wine, instead of water, for the sake of his stomach and frequent infirmities. 1 Tim. v. 23.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Variations, or Inconsistencies,

Which are found among the

FOUR EVANGELISTS

In their different Accounts of the same Facts.

REFLECTIONS, &c.

THE harmony or agreement, which is found in the four Gospels, with regard to the principal transactions there recorded, tho' written by different persons, at different times, and in different places, is justly celebrated by the Christian writers, as a strong proof of the integrity of the Evangelists, and of the certainty of the facts, which they deliver; and consequently, of the truth of Christianity itself.

It's Adversaries on the other hand, sensible of the force of this reasoning, have been endeavouring in all ages to shake this foundation, by affirming: that there is *no such harmony among the Gospels*, as is pretended, but on the contrary, *such inconsistencies and contradictions*, as are sufficient to blast their authority [a]. But the little success which they have met with in their attempts of this kind, shews, what little weight their objections are thought to have, by the serious and thinking part of mankind.

The Champions however of the Gospel, not content with simple victory, nor satisfied with refuting the cavils of it's enemies, resolved to carry their triumphs still further, and to cut off even the possibility of cavilling for the future, by maintaining, that the Evangelists were not onely consistent in their accounts of all the greater events, but could not possibly contradict each other, even in the smallest, being all of them perpetually inspired by a divine and unerring Spirit.

[a] Quidam vel impia vanitate, vel imperita temeritate calumniis appetunt, ut eis veracis narrationis derogent fidem—hoc enim solent quasi palmare vanitatis suæ

obicere, quod ipsi Evangelistæ inter seipsoſ dissentiant. — August. de Consen. Evangelist. l. 1. §. x.

REFLECTIONS *on the Variations,*

This opinion obtained in the early ages of the Church, and is asserted by several of the primitive Fathers [a] : in consequence of which, many books have been written, to demonstrate the real harmony of the Gospels, in those very passages, in which they have generally been thought to contradict or dissent from each other.

My present purpose therefore is, to inquire into the state of this question : and to collect, as far as I am able, what it is, that a Christian is bound to believe, on the one side or the other, from the evidence of plain facts, as they are found in the Evangelists themselves : which I shall endeavour to explain, without prejudice or partiality, or any other view, than to discover and declare what is true, and by that means to promote the real interest and honour of religion.

The first objection then, which we meet with to the veracity of the Evangelists, even in the primitive ages, is drawn from the two different *genealogies* of our Saviour's family, as they are severally given by *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* : which are charged with many inconsistencies, not onely, when compared with each other, but when considered separately and by themselves.

For instance ; it is allowed by all the Commentators, both antient and modern, that in the second of those Tesseradecades, or periods of fourteen generations, into which *Matthew* has distributed the whole Genealogy, he has either willfully suppressed, or negligently omitted three successive descents from father to son, between *Joram* and *Ozias* ; viz. *Ochozias*, *Joash*, *Abaziah* [b] ; in contradiction to the truth of history, and to those very books, whence he drew the Genealogy itself [c]. *Jerom*, *Hilary* and

[a] Solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam — Non te arbitror, sic legi tuos libros velle, tanquam Prophetarum & Apostolorum : de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est. Id.

Epist. ad Hieron. in Oper. Hieron. T. 4. par. 2. p. 630. Edit. Benedict.

[b] Cernis ergo, quod secundum fidem historię tres Reges in medio fuerint, quos hic Evangelista prætermisit. Hier. in Matt. 1. Op. T. 4. p. 6.

[c] 4 Reg. iii. 8.

other antient Fathers give this reason for the omission ; that because *Joram* had allied himself to the House of *Abab*, by taking thence his wife *Athalia*, a second *Jesabel* ; *Matthew* did not think his wicked issue, from so wicked a wife, worthy to stand in the pedigree of the *Holy Jesus*, even to the third generation [a].

But this solution is thought ridiculous by some of the best Expositors : for if those three persons had been thrown out of the Genealogy, on the account of their wickedness, the same reason would have excluded several others, as *Achaz*, *Manasses*, &c. “ Let the reader consider, says *Erasmus*, how it can be consistent “ in the Evangelist, to scruple the admission of any for their impiety, when he had given a place to *Ruth*, and to the wife of “ *Uriah*, and to *Rahab*, women famous for their lewdness [b].” And *Jerom* himself, tho’ he assigns the impiety of the three Kings, as the reason of their exclusion, yet observes, “ as a thing, “ to be noted, that no women are numbered in the Genealogy, “ but such, as are mentioned in the Scriptures with some blot “ upon their characters, that he who came for the sake of Sinners, and was himself descended from Sinners, might wipe out the sins of all [c].” Wherefore it is the opinion of *Grotius*, which is intimated likewise by *Jerom*, that *Matthew*’s sole view, in omitting those three persons, was to reduce this division of the Genealogy to the number of fourteen ; with which he has resolved to fill up each of the three periods into which he divided it [d].

[a] Sed in hoc non mendacii aut negligentiae vitium : tres ratione sunt praeteriti, &c. Hilar. in Matt. i.

Verum quia Joram generi se miscuerat impiissimae Jezabel, idcirco usque ad tertiam generationem memoria ejus tollitur, ne in sanctae nativitatis ordine poneretur. Hieron. ibid.

[b] Illud expendat diligens lector, qui conveniat hic Evangelistam offensum fuisse quorundam impietate, cum ante *Ruth* posuerit, & uxorem *Uriae* & *Rahab*, scelere notabiles feminas. In Matt. i. 17.

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[c] Notandum est genealogia Salvatoris, nullam sanctarum assumi mulierum, sed eas, quas Scriptura reprehendit : ut qui propter peccatores venerat, de peccatoribus nascens, omnium peccata deleat. Hieron. in Matt. i.

[d] Quod autem personas quasdam omiserit Matthaeus, factum est rotundandi numeri causa. Grot. in Matt. i. 17. it. Zenger.

Verum quia Evangelistae propositum erat, tres Tesseradecadas, in diversorum statum ponere, idcirco, &c. Hier. ib.

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It is observed however, at the same time, that in his third *Tesseradecade*, or division of the Pedigree, the number of *fourteen* cannot be made out; since all, who are there enumerated, make up *thirteen* onely, including *Jesus* himself. To supply this deficiency, *Theophylact* says, "that the Babylonish captivity, with which this third period begins, must be numbered in the place of a person." But *Austin* tells us, "that *Jechonias*, who stands the last in the second division, must be counted over again at the head of the third; being, in that great revolution of the Jewish affairs, like a corner-stone, which has two different aspects, and belongs to two sides of the building: from which he collects a mystical sense, alluding to the person of Christ [a]." But *Jerom* more critically and reasonably supposes, "that there stood originally in the pedigree two *Jechonias's*; the Father and the Son: the one in the end of the second division; the other, in the beginning of the third: and that this identity of name, in two persons immediately following each other, gave occasion to the omission of one of them, through the inadvertency of the Transcribers, in the first ages of the Church; whence the same omission was propagated into all the later Copies [b]."

It is observed likewise of this *Jechonias*, who is here said to have begotten *Salathiel*, that he really died childless; without any Successor of his own blood, agreeably to what *Jeremiah* had prophesied concerning him [c]. So that if this *Salathiel*, said to have been begotten of him, be the same, as some think, whom *Luke* calls the *Son of Neri*; then *Jesus's* descent from *David* was not, as *Matthew* deduces it, through *Solomon*, but through *Nathan* and his posterity, as *Luke* derives it [d].

Various conjectures are made by the learned, concerning the reasons, which induced *Matthew* to divide the Genealogy into

[a] Φασὶ τῶς, ὅτι καὶ τὴν μελοικεσίαν, ὡς προσώπῳ τὰξιν ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. Theophyl. in Matt. i.

Illud quod in angulo est bis numeratur, in fine scilicet prioris ordinis, & in capite ejus deflexionis, &c. Aug. de Consen.

Evangel. l. 2. §. 10.

[b] Hieron. ibid.

[c] Hieremias, xxii. 30. Lightfoot, in Matt. i. 12.

[d] Grot. in Luc. iii. 27. Lightfoot, ibid.

three equal periods of fourteen generations ; some of them of a deep and mystical sense ; but the most probable is, what *Grotius* has assigned, “ that it was for the sake of assisting the memory ; “ with which view, he first divided the whole into three periods, “ distinguished by as many remarkable Epochs ; the first including the time before the Monarchy ; the second, the flourishing state of it ; the third, its declension : and then to each period he assigned an equal number of names, as those do, who artificially help the memory by the means of images disposed in certain places : to effect all which, he made no scruple to leave out of the pedigree some persons of inferior note and merit [a].”

Dr. Lightfoot tells us, “ that, in *Matthew's* division of the Genealogy, tho' the facts and numbers do not exactly agree with the truth, yet the Jews cannot find fault with him, because it was a common rule and practice with them, to reduce both things and numbers, which came near to each other, to one and the same denomination ; of which he gives several examples [b].” It is not improbable therefore, that *Matthew*, being a Jew, and writing to the Jews, might use that loose and inaccurate method of computing, which was generally practised in those days by the learned of that nation.

As to the Genealogy given by *Luke*, there is a wonderful confusion in it, as *Erasmus* says, with regard to the names of persons ; which in some copies are too few, in others too many, and in all greatly depraved and inverted. And as in *Matthew's* Genealogy, several names are omitted and the true pedigree left incomplete ; so in *Luke's*, many are supposed to have been added by Transcribers, to make it agree with certain traditions, entertained about it : of which sort, as *Grotius* endeavours to shew, are the names of *Matthat*, *Levi* and *Cainan* [c] : So that if the names

[a] Quod ut consequeretur, parvi duxit personas quasdam minime nobiles transilire. Grot. in Matt. i. 17.

[b] Hor. Hebraic. in Matth. i. 17.

[c] In recensendis nominibus mira con-

fusio— Eras. in Luc. iii. 23.

Ad eum vero numerum res reduci non potest nisi & Matthat, & Levi hoc loco omittantur, ut & infra Cainan. Grot. in Luc. ibid.

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omitted by *Matthew* were inserted, and those, which have been added to *Luke*, were thrown out, it seems to be his opinion, as it was also of *Erasmus*, that the numbers in both the Genealogies might be brought to agree very nearly with each other [a].

But if from considering these Genealogies separately, we proceed to compare them with each other, we shall find them clogged with difficulties, which no Expositors, either antient or modern, have been able to solve. For tho' both of them deduce the family of *Jesus* in a direct line from *David*, yet this line is filled up by a succession of different persons in each; so that through the whole descent we find but two names the same in the two pedigrees; and tho' in *Matthew's* deduction of it, the period from *David* to *Jesus* contains but *twenty eight* generations, in *Luke's*, it contains *forty one*.

I have already intimated, how some have accounted for the different number of names in each pedigree: but that solution will not answer the purpose, or bring them near to a parity, because all, which appear to have been omitted by *Matthew*, are but *four*, and all which are supposed to have been added to *Luke*, but *three*. As to the difference of the persons themselves, some Commentators labor to shew, that the same persons are really enumerated by both the Evangelists, tho' under different names; it being the custom of the Jews, for each man to have several: but since all the names are exactly the same in them both, from *Abraham* to *David*, yet differ almost totally from *David* to *Jesus*, this account of the matter, as *Grotius* rightly observes, cannot be thought reasonable by men of Judgement; nor so wide a difference ascribed to the accidental effect of such a custom [b].

Another expedient therefore has been invented and espoused by some Critics of great name [c]: viz. that *Matthew* gives us the pedigree of *Joseph*, the reputed Father, and *Luke*, of *Mary* the

[a] Quos si ceteris adjeceris comperies & numerum consentire. *Erasm. Ibid.*

[b] Ex sola τῆς πολυωνομίας causa accidisse, non facile concedet, qui judicio

valet. *Grot. in Luc. iii. 23.*

[c] *Erasmus, Drusius, Toinard, Spanheim, Vossius, Jansenius, Chemnitius, Lightfoot, &c.*

Mother of *Jesus* : and tho' *Joseph* be called by *Luke* the Son of *Heli*, he must be understood to mean the Son in law, as being the husband of his daughter *Mary*. But this opinion, tho' approved by many of the learned, is justly rejected by others, as being wholly grounded on an Hypothesis, without any solid reason to support it [a] : For *Luke*, without any mention of *Mary*, proceeds directly and expressly to set forth the genealogy of *Joseph* : " nor was it ever customary or known among the Jews, to deduce the descent of families through the female line [b]. "

It is objected likewise, that tho' both the Evangelists profess to set forth the true family and pedigree of *Jesus*, yet neither of them have really exhibited it, but have given us onely the descent of *Joseph*, his reputed Father, of whose blood he had no share or participation. To this it is answered ; " that the family of *Mary* the real mother of *Jesus*, is included and represented in that of her husband ; because every man was obliged " by the law of *Moses*, to take his wife out of his own tribe [c]. " But this likewise does not satisfy ; because the rule of marrying within the same tribe was not constantly observed ; or if it had been so, would not prove *Mary* to have been of the same family ; which is a quite different case [d]. The Commentators therefore have been driven to another shift ; to suppose *Mary* to have been an Heiress, and for that reason obliged to marry her nearest of kin [e]. But this is supposed again without any foundation : for it does not appear, that there was any other obligation, even upon Heiresses, than to marry onely within their own tribe : nor is it

[a] Quod quidam existimant, a Matthæo recenseri genus Josephi, a Luca autem Mariæ, nequaquam mihi probabile videtur. Grot. in Matth. i. 16.

[b] —ἐκ τῆν νόμος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις γενεαλογεῖσθαι γυναίκας. Theophyl. in Matth. i. it. Chrysost. Hom. 2.

Non esse consuetudinis Scripturarum, ut mulierum in generationibus ordo texatur. Hier. in Matt. i.

[c] Nam ita fit, ut in persona Josephi, etiam Mariæ genus comprehendatur, &c. Casaub. in Luc. iii. 23.

[d] Quod aiunt tribules tribulibus nubere debuisse, neque perpetuum est ; neque si fit, eo usque valere potest, ut etiam ex Davidis familia Mariam fuisse, inde appareat. Grot. Matt. i. 16.

[e] Numb. xxxvi. 6.

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at all probable, that *Mary* was an Heiress, since all the facts which are delivered of Her plainly tend to prove the contrary.

It seems very evident, that the Evangelists had no other notion of our Lord's descent from *David*, than through *Joseph*, whose son he legally was : for whenever they mention *Joseph*, they generally stile him the *Son of David*, or of the house of *David* ; yet never ascribe the same character to *Mary* : who, from the silence of the sacred writers, as well as from her relation to *Elizabeth*, of the family of *Aaron* [a], is thought most probably to have been of a different tribe, from that of her husband.

The opinion then, which seems to be the most generally received at this day, is ; that both the Evangelists exhibit the pedigree of *Joseph* onely, but that *Matthew* gives the succession of his natural, *Luke* of his legal parentage. To illustrate this, they suppose, that *Heli* and *Jacob*, each of whom, in the several Genealogies, is called the Father of *Joseph*, were brothers ; not by the same Father, but by the Mother onely ; and *Heli*, the elder, being married and dying without issue, *Jacob* took his wife, according to the law, to raise up seed to his brother, and so begat *Joseph* ; by nature and blood the Son of *Jacob* ; by the law and right of succession, the son also of *Heli* ; who descended in a direct line from *Nathan*, the Son of *David*, as *Jacob* did from *Solomon*. This account is taken from *Eusebius*, who tells us ; that *Epiphanius* pretended to have received it from our Saviour's own family [b]. But *Epiphanius*'s authority is much suspected ; and the account itself charged with great difficulties, and even absurdities by the Critics [c] : and *Grotius* particularly, tho' he allows the distinction of the legal and natural descent of *Joseph* to be the most plausible solution of the disagreement of the two Genealogies, yet, contrary to all the other interpreters, he assigns the deduction of the legal stemm to *Matthew* ; and of the na-

[a] Matth. i. 20. Luc. i. 27 : ii. 4. it.
i. 5, 36.

[b] Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 1. 1. c. 7.

[c] Sed eum Scriptorem in multis rebus

non tam diligentiâ, quam judicio & linguarum cognitione destitutum, labi, probatur proclive est. Grot. in Luc. iii. 23.

tural, to *Luke* : which tho' he confirms by many probable, and, as he himself thinks, unanswerable arguments, yet his opinion has had no better fate, than the rest above mentioned, of being refuted and rejected in it's turn, by all the other Commentators [a].

Upon the whole, since men of the greatest learning and experience in these studies, have not been able to produce any thing satisfactory on the subject of these Genealogies, but have constantly exploded each other's notions, so that what one had established as a foundation, was presently overthrown by another, there seems to be no other part left to us, than, with many of the same Critics, to consider the two pedigrees, as inexplicable and irreconcilable, and according to the advice of *St. Paul*, to give no heed to endless genealogies, which *minister questions, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith* [b].

As to the historical facts, which are recorded in the Gospels, Interpreters have observed likewise a strange disagreement and variation in many of them, as they are severally described by different Evangelists. For example ; the story of the woman who anointed our Lord, is thus told by *Matthew* and *Mark*, *that Jesus being at Bethany, in the house of Simon the Leper, there came in a woman having an Alabaſter box of rich ointment and poured it on his head, as he sat at meat.* *St. John*, without any mention of *Simon the Leper*, says, *that this passed at a Supper made for Jesus, in Bethany, where Lazarus, whom he had raised from the dead, sat at the table with him, whose Sister Martha waited on them, while his other Sister Mary*

[a] Ego vero non conjecturis, sed liquidis, ni fallor, rationibus adductus certissimum arbitror, a *Matthæo* spectari juris successionem. Ibid.

[b] Cum hætenus tam multi & docti & exercitati viri ita digladiati sint, ut quæ alius tanquam solidissima fundamenta posuerat, alius novis rationibus illa destruat, &c. Vid. *Clarium*. in *Matt.* i. 1.

Illud interim cavebimus, ne post alios

etiam ex veteribus, qui naufragium non semel hic fecerunt, Genealogiam anxie excutiamus : contenti illo *Ambrosii* in *Lucam*, non licet mihi scire generationis seriem, non licet tamen nescire generationis fidem. Heinf. Exercit. Sacr. in *Matt.* i.

Operam & oleum perdit, qui hic curiose & superstitiose diligens, &c. Scultet. Exercit. Evangel. l. 1. 42. See *Hammond*. on *Matt.* i.

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took a pound of ointment of Spikenard very costly, and anointed with it, not the head, but the feet of Jesus, and wiped them with her hair. Matthew says, that when his Disciples saw it, they had indignation, saying; to what purpose is this wast? for this ointment might have been sold for much and given to the poor— Mark also tells us, that there were some, who had indignation at this wast, and were very angry with the woman for it. But John says, that it was onely Judas Iscariot, who grumbled at it— not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag and bare it out was put therein [a].

This story of the unction of *Jesus*, by a certain woman, who had been a Sinner, as it is related by *Luke* [b], supplies so many fresh difficulties, that the Expositors both antient and modern have been driven to their usual shift, of supposing these different accounts to relate to different facts performed at different times, and by different women. *Let no man imagine*, says *Jerom*, *that it was the same woman, who anointed the head, and the feet of Jesus.* Where the Editor of his works admonishes us by a marginal note, that there were *many Mary's, who anointed him* [c]. *Theophylact* supposes, that there were *three*; but *Austin*, that the same thing was performed *twice by the same woman* [d]. Yet all these varying accounts agree so remarkably with each other in every principal circumstance, that it is absurd and irrational, to feign several distinct stories, to serve the prejudices onely of those, who think it impious, to allow the possibility of an error or mistake in the Evangelists. For *Luke* affirms with *John*, that

[a] Matt. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiv. 3. Joh. xii. 1.

Scio quosdam hunc locum calumniari, quare alius Evangelista Judam solum dixerit contristatum, & Matthæus scribat omnes Apostolos contristatos; nescientes tropum, qui dicitur σὺλληψις, vel Synecdoche— Hier. in Matt. xxvi. Op. T. 4. p. 125.

[b] Luk. vii. 37.

[c] Nemo putet eandem esse quæ unguentum fudit super caput & quæ super pedes, &c. Id. ibid.

[d] Τινὲς τρεῖς λέγουσιν εἶναι, &c. Theophyl. in Matt. xxvi.

Nihil itaque aliud intelligendum, nisi non quidem aliam fuisse mulierem— sed eandem Mariam bis hoc fecisse— August. de Conf. Evang. l. 2. §. 154.

this passed at an entertainment made for *Jesus*; and with the other Two, in the house of a person called *Simon*; and in the words of *Mark*, that the woman brought *an Alabaſter box of ointment*; and again, with *John*, that ſhe anointed, not the head, *but the feet of Jesus* [a]. But what ſeems to put the caſe beyond all doubt, is; that *John*, ſpeaking in another place of this *Mary*, the ſiſter of *Lazarus*, before his mention of this fact, ſays of her, by an anticipation or *prolepſis*, not unuſual with the ſacred writers, *She who anointed the Lord, with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair*: which designation of her perſon, by ſo particular a circumſtance would have been impertinent and equivocal, as *Grotius* obſerves, if there had been more facts of the ſame kind, and *more Mary's*, who anointed him [b].

There is a great difference alſo in the time, which is aſſigned to this unction by the Evangeliſts, whence the chief argument is drawn for the diverſity of the fact: for three of them declare it to have happened a few days before the death of *Jesus*; whereas *Luke* deſcribes it, as done in the beginning of his miniſtry, and while *John Baptiſt* was living. But this will eaſily be accounted for, by alledging what the moſt ſcrupulous of the Commentators allow, that the *Evangelists* took no care, nor thought, to diſpoſe their facts in the proper order of time, in which they were tranſacted, but ſet them down, juſt as their memory ſupplied them; and what they had forgotten in it's proper place, related in another, as they happened to recollect it; and that *Luke* in particular was leſs accurate in this article than any of them, as he compiled his hiſtory, not from his own knowledge or experience, but from materials received at ſecond hand from others. Wherefore ſince in the caſe of this ſame ſtory, as it is ſeparately related by three of the *Evangelists*, we confeſſedly ſee ſeveral variations or ſeem-

[a] Non tantum unam eandemque fuiſſe mulierem, ſed & factum idem, cur negetur non video: neque enim temere multiplicandæ hiſtoriæ.—Hæ circumſtantiæ ſunt ἀντιſεſτεραι quam ut diverſis tem-

poribus congruant. Grot. in Matt. xxvi. 6.

[b] Non poterat autem certa ſatis nota ſumi ex eo, quod ſæpiùs acciderat, &c. Grot. ibid.

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ing inconsistencies; what scruple or danger can there be, in admitting a few more, from the relation of a fourth, who, in his account of facts, which are common to them all, is observed, for the reason just mentioned, to be more confused and inaccurate than any of them [a].

After the story just mentioned, there follows another in the same chapter, of our Lord's foretelling to his Disciples the treachery of *Judas*, which is related also variously by the Evangelists. For his Apostles, as they sat at table with him, being grieved to hear him declare, that one of their number should prove so vile a traitor, were very desirous, for their own justification, that the person might be named, and *began every one to say, Lord is it I?* Whereupon *Jesus* gave them a sign or token, by which they might distinguish him, saying; *He, who dippeth his band with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.* This account is given by *Matthew* and *Mark*; but *John* gives a very different turn to it: *that Peter beckened to John, who was leaning on Jesus's bosom, to ask, who it should be: and John having put the question, Jesus answered; He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it: and when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas [b].*

The difference is of no consequence, and might safely be imputed to want of accuracy or memory, in recollecting and recording minute circumstances: but such an imputation is generally thought so dishonorable to the Evangelists, that it is pleasant to see, what shifts have been contrived to evade it. We are told

[a] Nihil certius, quam a Scriptoribus Evangeliorum multa referri, non temporis ordine sed rerum ductu. Grot. in Matt. xxvi. 6.

Matthæus non ordine quo gestum est, sed quo prætermissum recolit, &c. August. de Conf. Evang. l. 2. §. 53.

Marcus ea juxta fidem magis gestorū narravit, quam ordinem. Hieron. Prol. in Matt.

None of them agree throughout in ob-

serving the order and succession of the actions related, &c. Hammond Prol. in Matt. p. 4.

Luke who wrote his story from collections he had from others, hath not so exactly observed the order, and hath varied from the others in words and circumstances, &c. ibid.

[b] Matt. xxvi. 23. Mar. xiv. 20. Joh. xiii. 26.

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then, that this designation of the traitor *Judas*, by the delivery of a sop to him, was not signified by *Jesus* in common to all his Apostles, but to *John* onely in private, then lying upon his bosom; who had *whispered the question* to his Master, and was answered also by a whisper, which was not explained to the rest; who knew therefore nothing more of the matter, than what is recorded by *Matthew* and *Mark* [a]. So blind is prejudice, that to refute the suspicion of an error or slip of memory in the Evangelists, it does not scruple to charge them with ignorance of the facts, which they had undertaken to transmit to posterity.

Matthew relates, that two *Dæmoniaks*, who lived furious among the tombs, in the country of the *Gadarenes*, were cured by *Jesus*, when he permitted the ejected Devils to enter into the herd of swine: but *Mark* and *Luke* tell the same story of one man onely, possessed by a legion of Devils [b]. *Austin*, accounting for this difference, says; “that we are to understand, that one of the “two *Dæmoniaks* mentioned by *Matthew* was of a more distinguished and eminent character; for whose unhappy case that “country was chiefly concerned, and more particularly sollicitous “for his safety: so that the other two Evangelists, being desirous to signify this, thought it best to mention him alone, by “whose means the fame of this miracle had been more widely “and effectually spread [c].

Matthew informs us also, that two blind men implored the help of *Jesus*, as he was passing along the road, and were cured by him of their blindness: but *Mark* tells the same fact of one man onely so cured, whose name he particularly mentions, *Bartimeus the son of Timæus*: they both however declare the case to have

[a] Nulli discipulorum aperte demonstravit, quis illum traditurus esset, præterquam Johanni, cui secrete percunctanti secrete responsum puto. — Zeger. in Matt. xxvi. 23.

Cum Johannes submissiori voce interrogaret, Christus submissa itidem voce indicavit—quod cum non intellexissent reliqui

Apostoli, &c. Lud. Cappell. in Joh. xiii. 26.

[b] Matt. viii. 28. Mar. v. 2. Luc. viii. 26.

[c] Intelligas unum eorum fuisse personam alicujus clarioris & famosioris, quem regio illa maxime dolebat, & pro ejus salute plurimum satagebat, &c. de Conf. Evang. l. 2. §. 56.

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happened, as *Jesus* returned from *Jericho* : but *Luke*, who agrees with *Mark*, in mentioning but *one blind man*, contradicts them both, in affirming the miracle to have been wrought, as *Jesus* was going towards *Jericho* [a]. *Origen* remarks on this passage ; “ that if we believe the Evangelists to have written their Gospels “ under the direction of the Holy Ghost, we must believe at “ the same time, that three distinct stories are here recorded ; “ since circumstances so contradictory cannot be true of one and “ the same. Yet those, says he, who search deeper into the “ sense of Scripture, will find, that it is but one and the same “ transaction, delivered in different words by them all [b].”

St. Austin thinks it a sufficient solution of the difficulty, to suppose the same miracle to have been twice performed, on *two several blind men* ; on the one, as *Jesus* went, and on the other, as he returned from *Jericho* [c]. And he gives the same reason again, as in the former case, why *Mark* has chosen to speak onely of one of them ; “ because his story was more known and “ famous in that City : as it is evident, he says, from the men- “ tion of the name of the man and of his Father also : whom “ he supposes to have been reduced from some flourishing state of “ life, to this miserable condition of blindness and beggary : “ whose cure therefore made the miracle as notorious as his ca- “ lamity [d].” But it is surely more reasonable to say here, what I find to have been said, by a strenuous advocate of the Gospel, that these several accounts of the Evangelists *are different indeed, but not contradictory : and that Matthew was more accurate in this instance, than either Mark or Luke* [e] ; as in the next, we shall find *Luke*, in his turn, more exact than the other two.

[a] Matt. xx. 30. Mar. x. 46. Luc. xviii. 35.

[b] Orig. Comm. in Matt. Edit. Huet. T. 1. p. 427.

[c] Nihil aliud restat intelligere, nisi bis esse factum hoc miraculum, &c. August.

Quæstion. Evang. l. 2. Quæst. XLVIII. 1.

[d] De Conf. Evang. l. 2. §. 125.

[e] At hæc non contraria, sed tantum diversa — & a Matthæo, accuratius quam a Luca, historia describitur. — Cuper. ar- cana Atheism, revelat. l. 2. p. 169.

The story of *the two Thieves*, who were crucified together with *Jesus*, is related also in the several Gospels with a very remarkable difference. *Matthew* and *Mark* tell us onely in short, that *both the Thieves*, as they were hanging with him on the Cross, *insulted and reviled Jesus*: whereas *Luke* more particularly declares, that it was but *one of them*, who reviled him, while the other acted a contrary part, and, having rebuked his fellow-sufferer for his insolence, said unto *Jesus*, *Lord remember me, when thou comest into thy Kingdom* [a].

The Critics again, both antient and modern, take great pains to elude the charge of a contradiction: but none have been so hardy, as *Cardinal Hugo*, who, as he is cited by *Erasmus*, treats this passage in *Matthew*, as little better than *a lie*; or *such an account, as one would expect from a man in his cups* [b]. *St. Chrysostom* and *Jerom*, and all the Antients, allow a seeming contradiction in the words, but attempt to clear the Evangelists of it, by supposing, “ that both the Thieves blasphemed *Jesus* at first, till “ one of them, convinced by the prodigies, which then happened, “ of the Sun darkened and the earth trembling, quickly changed “ his note, and, from a sudden conversion and repentance, im- “ plored his mercy [c].” Which solution, tho’ embraced, according to custom, by many of the moderns, is justly rejected by others, as a groundless and fictitious comment [d]. For what contradiction, how gross soever, might not easily be solved and eluded, if such a method of interpreting were allowed, which, without any authority from history, indulged a liberty of inventing

[a] Matt. xxvii. 44. Mar. xv. 32. Luc. xxiii. 39.

[b] Hoc, inquit, videtur falsum — ac mox, Hoc, inquit, dicitur, ut putes dictum inter pocula. *Erasm.* in Matt. xxvii.

44.

[c] Non quod discrepent Evangelia, sed quod primum uterque blasphemaverit, dehinc sole fugiente, terra commota, — unus crediderit in *Jesum*, & priorem negationem sequenti confessione emendave-

rit. — *Hier. Comm.* in Matt. xxvii. it. *Chrysost.* Hom. in Paralyt. T. 3. p. 30. Edit. Bened. it. *Theophyl.* in Matt. xxvii. it. *Zeger*, in Matt. ibid. & *Hammond*, ibid.

[d] Hæc congeffi, nequis cum antiquis aliquot ad eam interpretationem confugiat, quæ parum probabiliter statuit, Latronem, qui in *Christo* credidit, subito a convitiis ad eam pietatem conversum: quo commento sublato, &c. *Grot.* in Matt. xxvii. 44.

and supplying every imaginable circumstance, which the fact could possibly admit.

The solution therefore, which is now generally received, is this ; that the Evangelists have used onely *the plural*, instead of *the singular* number, and by a common use of language, have spoken indefinitely or generally, on a single or particular case ; which they illustrate by other examples from the sacred Writers. Yet this, if allowed even to be true, cannot be applicable to the case before us : for when *Matthew* says, that *the Thieves*, and *Mark*, that *they also*, who were crucified with him reviled him : if nothing more had been said by *Luke*, than that this was done onely by one of them ; the difference might possibly have been reconciled : but when *Luke* expressly tells us, that of *the two Thieves* crucified, the one railed on *Jesus*, and the other on the contrary, by a surprizing conversion, confessed his faith in him, and implored his mercy, the difference is too precise and glaring to be smoothed over by the use of a trope or figure, which some call an *Enallage*, others a *Syllepsis* [a].

What other method then is there left of accounting for this contrariety, but that, which the case itself naturally offers to us ; that *Luke* had his account probably from some, who had observed more exactly every circumstance of the Crucifixion, or, by standing nearer to the Cross, had heard more distinctly all, which was said by those, who were crucified ? For it is highly improbable, or impossible rather, to imagine, that the other *Evangelists* would have omitted to mention a fact of such moment, and one of the most remarkable in the New Testament, if it had come to their knowledge : a fact, I say, so full both of instruction and of comfort to all Christians, both good and bad ; which decides the grand quæstion about the immediate state of departed souls, and the entrance of the just into Paradise : since it is absurd to imagine, that this Thief, after a life wholly spent in riot

[a] Sed etiam quia unus hoc fecit, potuit usitato locutionis modo per pluralem numerum significari. — August. de Conf.

Evang. 1. 3. §. 53. See Grot. *Eras.* and the other Critics on this text.

and wickedness, should by a sudden repentance, how signal or sincere soever, obtain any peculiar reward, beyond what is prepared for the faithful and the righteous [a]. St. *Chrysostom* speaking of this very case in one of his Sermons, says; "Christ introduced the Thief into Paradise, loaded with an infinite weight of sins. But was this then the sole wonder in the case, that he introduced a Thief into Paradise? No, there is another still greater. For he introduced him preferably to all the world, and to his own Apostles; that no man hereafter might despair of an admission, or lose all hopes of his own Salvation, tho' he be spending his life in the Courts of Kings, and charged with all the vices, which there abound [b]."

We find likewise an irreconcilable difference, or contradiction, between *Mark* and *John*, concerning the time of the day, when *Jesus* was crucified. *Mark* says expressly, that it was but *the third hour, or nine of the clock in the morning*, when they had actually fixed him on the Cross: *John* says, that it was about *the sixth hour, or twelve of the clock*, while he was yet under examination before *Pilate* [c].

[a] *Mihi quidem tale hoc miraculum videtur, ut illustrius majusque nullum alibi exstare existimem: nullum quod afflictos peccatorum mole animos magis attollat.* — Heinsf. Exercit. Sacr. in Luc. xxiii.

[b] Oper. T. 4. p. 679. C. Edit. Benedict.

N. B. St. *Austin*, having affirmed in a certain treatise, that Baptism was absolutely necessary to salvation, and being urged with the case of this Thief, as a confutation of his opinion, makes answer; "that the Thief was reckoned by that holy Bishop St. *Cyprian*, in the number of those Martyrs, who were baptized by their own blood: which was the case of many, in the times of persecution, who had not the opportunity of a re-

gular baptism. That it was believed also and not improbably, that, as he hung so near on the Cross, he might be sprinkled with some of that water, which issued together with blood, from the wound in *Jesus's* side, and so was washed by that most holy baptism: and farther, that no body could certainly know, whether he had not been regularly baptized either in his prison or before he was taken." [De origin. Anim. l. 1. c. 9. l. 3. c. 9.] Which shews, how one groundless hypothesis, obstinately maintained, necessarily creates many more of the same kind, and intangles us of course in a perpetual labyrinth of error and absurdity.

[c] Mar. xv. 25. John xix. 14.

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Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who lived in the third century, declares, that in both those Gospels the third hour was written, as it might be seen in the very original exemplar of *St. John's Gospel*, which was preserved to his time in the Church of Ephesus. But this is looked upon by the generality of the Critics, as an undoubted forgery, either of *Bishop Peter*, or some Transcriber of his works, contrived for the sake of reconciling the two Evangelists [a].

St. Jerom, who lived about a century later, tells us just the contrary. "That the sixth hour was written originally in both the Gospels; but that the Transcribers instead of writing the word at length, put for it the mark, 5, which commonly signified the number six; but was mistaken by other Transcribers for the letter, Γ, the numeral mark for three; whence the same mistake was propagated into all the later Copies [b]." But this solution is clogged likewise with insuperable difficulties, and rejected therefore by the Critics; who find, that such abbreviations, or numeral marks were not commonly used in those early ages [c]; since none of them are to be met with in the oldest of those manuscripts which still remain: nor is it possible, that the accidental mistake of one or two Transcribers could be transferred universally into all the later Copies.

St. Austin gives us a third solution, much more subtil and refined, "that *Mark*, who says, they crucified him at the third hour, is not to be understood to denote the time of his being

[a] Vid. Millii Not. in loc. it. Grot.

But of what authority that relation is, may yet be questioned: and the antient *Alexandrian* Copy accords in the main with the printed Copies.—And it is more probable, that the reading, τρίτη, the third hour in *Mark*, should move some transcribers to read τρίτη too in *John*, to take away the seeming difference, and to accord the Evangelists, than for any one to turn τρίτη into ἑλῆ, contrary to what was before in *Mark*, if they had found it

otherwise. Hammond on Joh. xix. 14.

[b] Hoc videtur esse diversum sed non est diversum: error Scriptorum fuit: & in Marco hora sexta scriptam fuit: sed multi episcopus græcum 5 putaverunt esse Γ, &c. Hieron. in Psalm. lxxvii. it. Theophylact. in Joh. xix. 14.

[c] Neque vero per notas scriptos fuisse numeros in primogenis Codicibus, ullo argumento constat. Grot. in Mar. xv. 25. Zeger. ib. it. Millii Not.

“ nailed to the Cross, but of that clamor, which was made against him by the Jews, while he was still before Pilate, when they cried out, *crucify him, crucify him*, designing to insinuate thereby, that the Jews, who made that outcry for his Crucifixion, were more properly the authors of it, than those ministers, who afterwards executed the command of their superiors : and that he was more truly crucified at *the third hour*, by the tongues of the Jews, than at *the sixth*, by the hands of the Soldiers. If you do not like my explication, says he, shew me, how it is possible to solve the contradiction : shew, how Jesus could be crucified both at *the third* and *the sixth hour* [a].”

The modern Expositors therefore rejecting all the solutions just mentioned, have hit upon another, somewhat more plausible, in which they generally follow each other ; viz. “ that the day among the Jews, beginning from six in the morning, was divided into four equal portions of three hours each ; called *the third, the sixth, the ninth, and the twelfth hours* : the three first of which were the stated hours of public prayer in the Temple, and proclaimed to the people by the sound of a trumpet. As *the third hour* then was supposed to continue till the next sounding of the Trumpet, at *the sixth hour*, so whatever was transacted within that interval, how near soever to the beginning of the next division, was said, in the common way of speech, to happen *in the third hour* [b].” But tho’ this would bring the Evangelists nearer to each other, yet it will not reconcile them ; since *Mark* expressly affirms, that *Jesus* was actually crucified before that hour, in which *John* says as expressly, that *Pilate* was still sitting in judgement upon him. Nor is the notion itself true, that such a gross division of the day was in use among the Jews, as may be shewn from many passages of the

[a] Occulte ostendere voluit, eos magis crucifixisse Jesum, qui clamaverunt, ut crucifigeretur, quam illos, qui ministerium Principi præstiterunt, &c. — August. de

Conf. Evan. l. 3. §. 42.

[b] Vid. Grot. in Matt. xxvii. 45. Zeger. in Mar. xv. 25. Hammond on Joh. xix. 14.

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New Testament : for tho' *the third, sixth and ninth hours*, as being the solemn *hours* of religious worship, were more remarkable than the rest, and for that reason are more frequently mentioned by the sacred writers, yet we find, that their day, like to that of the *Babylonians*, from whom they probably learnt the division of it, as the Greeks also did, was divided into *twelve hours* [a]. *Are there not twelve hours of the day?* says our Lord : and in other places, mention is made of *the seventh, tenth, and the eleventh hour*, &c. [b] So that on the whole, we must be forced at last, with several of the Critics, to leave the difficulty, just as we found it, chargeable with all the consequences of a manifest inconsistency [c].

The occurrences also, which passed at our Lord's sepulcher, immediately after his resurrection, are described so variously by different Evangelists, that the learned have been strangely puzzled to reconcile them, and some obliged to give them up as contradictory [d]. *Jerom*, in his answer to a quæstion, which was put to him, how *Mark's account could be reconciled with Matthew's*, says ; “ that *Mark's* testimony might be rejected here as spurious, “ because it was found onely in a few copies of the Gospels, and “ scarce in any of the Greek, and especially, as it seemed to relate things contrary to the other Evangelists [e].” The same is confirmed also by other primitive writers, who tell us, that *the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel* were not to be found in many Copies of those early ages. Yet after a most diligent scru-

[a] Τα δώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον Ἕλληνες. Herodot. 1. 2. p. 129. Ed. Lond.

[b] John xi. 9. iv. 52. i. 40. Matt. xx. 26.

[c] Ego amplius censeo. Nam & illi & hi non satis probarunt mihi dicta sua. Nihil dicit, qui non probat quod dicit. Ego experientia didici, sæpe deceptos esse qui nimium crediderunt viris doctis, etiam Theologis, aliquid asserentibus sine fide, sine teste. Drusius. in Mar. xv. 25.

[d] Alia non pauca hoc loco sunt, quæ non facile quis ex Evangelistarum collatione docere posset non esse pugnantia. Zeger. in Marc. xvi. 5.

[e] Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur Evangelis, omnibus Græcæ libris pene hoc capitulum non habentibus ; præsertim cum diversa atque contraria Evangelistis ceteris narrare videatur. Hier. ad Hedib. Quæst. 3. T. 4. p. 172.

tiny into this fact, it is the general opinion of the Critics, that the said verses were certainly a genuin part of that Gospel, but left out by scrupulous or weak Transcribers, as being thought irreconcilable with the other Gospels [a].

But to give an instance or two of the disagreement of the Evangelists, with regard to what passed at the sepulcher; they all tell us, that the women, who came with Jesus, out of Galilee, whose names and number are variously described, having bought sweet spices to anoint his dead body, ran with great eagerness to the sepulcher in the morning after the Sabbath, very early, at or before the break of day: where, according to *Matthew* and *Mark*, they saw but *one Angel*; according to *Luke* and *John*, they saw *two*. The Angel in *Matthew* was *sitting without the sepulcher*, on the stone, which he had rolled away from the door [b]. The Angel in *Mark* was sitting within the sepulcher on the right side [c]. The two Angels in *Luke*, appeared to them of a sudden within the sepulcher, *and stood by them, while they were perplexed and doubting within themselves, what was become of the body of Jesus* [d]: but the two Angels in *John* were seen by them, when they first looked into the sepulcher, *the one sitting at the head, the other at the feet, where the body had layen* [e].

To solve these inconsistencies, the Commentators, instead of a single apparition of one or more Angels, generally suppose, that there were several, at least *three*: and tho' the Evangelists seem to describe but one visit of the women to the sepulcher, they imagine, that there were many; sometimes *of them all in company together*; sometimes singly, *now of one and then of another*; as if they had done nothing that whole morning, but run backwards and forwards between the city and the tomb [f]. *Theophylact* says, “ that the Angel, who was first

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“ seen

[a] Vid. Simon. Hist. Crit. du Nouveau Test. c. xi. it. Millii Not. in Mar. xvi. 8. Edit. N. T.

[b] Matt. xxviii. 2.

[c] Mar. xvi. 5.

[d] Luc. xxiv. 4.

[e] Joh. xx. 12.

[f] Quod diversa tempora mulierum describuntur, non mendacii signum est, ut impii objiciunt, sed sedulæ visitationis officium: dum crebro abeunt & recurrunt. Hier. in Matt. xxviii. Fieri

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“ seen sitting on the stone at the door, must be supposed to have
 “ risen up, as soon as the women arrived, and gone before them
 “ into the sepulcher, where he appeared to them again on the
 “ right, in order to make *Matthew* consistent with *Mark*: and
 “ *Austin* tells us, that the two Angels within the sepulcher, who
 “ were sitting, the one at the head, the other at the feet, where
 “ Jesus had lain, must be supposed to have stood up, as soon as
 “ the women entered, to reconcile *John*’s account with *Luke*’s [a].”
 And what effect can all this have, but to confirm that very
 charge, which they labor to elude, of confusion and inaccuracy in
 the sacred writers; by supposing them to have jumbled and
 blended into one story many different transactions, which, in
 order to be rightly understood, ought to have been separated and
 distinguished from each other?

According to *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, the women, as soon
 as they had seen the Angels, and were informed by them of our
 Lord’s resurrection, returned in all haste to carry the news of it to
 the Apostles; upon which *Peter* ran immediately to the sepul-
 cher. But *John*, who wrote the last of them, and after he had
 seen their accounts, tells a quite contrary story; that before
 any apparition, *Mary*, seeing onely the stone taken away from
 the door of the sepulcher, hastened back to tell it to *Peter*, and
 to the other Apostle, whom *Jesus* loved, and that *Peter*, accom-
 panied by that Apostle, ran away directly to the place, and saw the
 linnen cloaths lying and the napkin, which was about the head
 of *Jesus*, wrapped up in a place by itself, and then went back to
 their own home, without seeing any Angel, or *Jesus* himself, as
 the women are said to have done.

Dr. *Hammond* explaining the reason of this difference, says;
 “ that *Luke* writing from notes, which he had collected, and not

Fieri enim potuit, ut mulieres istæ non
 semel, neque omnes simul, sed semel simul,
 postea nunc hæc nunc illa, &c. Cuper.
 Arcana Atheism. revelat. 2. p. 172. it.
 Toinard. Harm. Evan. p. 132, &c.

[a] Vid. Theophyl. in Matt. xxviii.
 Hic intelligendi sunt surrexisse Angeli,
 ut etiam stantes viderentur, sicut eos Lu-
 cas commemorat. August. Conf. Evan.
 l. 3. §. 69.

“ from his own knowledge, observes not so exactly the order of
“ time, wherein things were done or spoken ; but oftentimes in
“ another method puts together things of affinity to one another,
“ though not done or said at the same time [a].”

But this solution, tho’ proper on other occasions, will not serve on this : because the want of order so observable, in the one, or the other of these narrations, seems chargeable to *John*, rather than to the rest, whose relation of the matter is again confirmed and repeated in the conversation of the *two Disciples going to Emmaus* [b]. *Grotius*, who usually imputes these difficulties to the general custom of the Evangelists, of neglecting the order of time, in which things were transacted, yet assigns a special reason, why *John*, in this particular case, might think fit to use a little artifice, and industriously invert the true order of the facts ; “ for lest the testimony of women, in a point of such moment, as *the resurrection of Jesus*, might be suspected and ridiculed, as it afterwards really was, *John*, he imagines, resolved to place *Peter’s* testimony and his own before it, tho’ out of their proper time : the truth of which, at the time of writing his Gospel, *Peter* had already sealed with his blood, as he himself was prepared also to do, whenever he should be called to it [c].”

It is very remarkable also, that the short Inscription or Title, which, by *Pilate’s* order, was fixed upon the Cross, over the head of *Jesus*, is delivered with some variation, by every one of the Evangelists.

Matthew says ; They set up over his head his accusation written ;

[a] Hammond on Joh. xx. 11.

[b] Luc. xxiv. 23, 24.

[c] Apud Johannem eadem quæ hic historia narratur, nihil enim video cur aliam putemus, cum tot circumstantiæ, congruant. — Neque Johanni cur naturalem

hic ordinem inverteret justa causa fuit. Sciebat quam imbecille futurum esset apud multos testimonium muliebri — quare Johannes acturus de re, ut verissima, ita creditu difficili, suum & *Petri* testimonium narrationi præstruxit, &c. in Matt. xxviii. 2.

THIS IS IESVS THE KING OF THE IEWS [a].

Mark ; The superscription of his accusation was written over ;

THE KING OF THE IEWS [b].

Luke ; A superscription also was written over him, in letters of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew ;

THIS IS THE KING OF THE IEWS [c].

John ; *Pilate* wrote a Title, and put it on the Cross, and the writing was ;

IESVS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE IEWS [d].

Now all these accounts agree very well with regard to the sense of them, yet it is certain, that there is but one of the four, which exhibits the true Inscription : and tho' a difference so trifling cannot reflect any disgrace on the veracity of *the Evangelists*, it shews however a want of that accuracy and exactness of truth, which we expect from all those, who undertake to transmit to posterity the authentic copies of public Inscriptions.

I shall add one instance more of the same kind, trifling indeed with regard to the point in difference, yet effectual to evince the same sort of inadvertency or mistake, with regard to the strictness of truth. *Matthew* reciting the testimony of *John Baptist*, concerning *Jesus*, gives these words as a part of it ; *whose shoes I am not worthy to bear* [e] : but the other Evangelists tell us, that the words were ; *the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose* [f]. Upon which *St. Austin* makes the follow-

[a] Matt. xxvii. 37.

[b] Mark xv. 26.

[c] Luke xxiii. 38.

[d] Joh. xix. 19.

[e] Matt. iii. 11.

[f] Mar. i. 7. Lu. iii. 16. Joh. i. 17.

ing remark : “ that to carry shoes, and to untie the latchet of a shoe,
 “ seem indeed to be different, not in words onely, or the order
 “ of them, or in the manner of speaking, but in the very thing
 “ or fact itself— so that he, who has recorded the words, which
 “ were really spoken by the Baptist, has told us the truth, while
 “ he, who has reported them differently, tho’ he may not be
 “ guilty of a lie, will be thought to have put one thing for an-
 “ other through want of memory. But no sort of falsehood,
 “ whether it procede from a lie, or forgetfulness, ought to be
 “ imputed to the Evangelists : wherefore, if the *Baptist*, when
 “ he spoke of our Lord’s shoes, had no other meaning, but to
 “ signify the excellence of *Jesus* and his own humility, it was
 “ the same thing, whether he spoke of *carrying or untying,*
 “ *shoes* ; and whoever mentioned the shoes afterwards in either
 “ way, with the same view of expressing his humility, rightly
 “ expressed the Baptist’s will and meaning [a].”

I shall not trouble the reader with any more instances of this kind, out of the great number, which has been collected by the writers on this subject : these which I have already produced, are sufficient for my purpose, and the use, which I shall now procede to make of them.

In the first place then, they manifestly shew, that many of the facts, which are recorded in the Gospels, are related so variously by the several Evangelists, that they cannot possibly be reconciled, or rendered consistent by all the art and subtilty of the most expert Commentators. *Origen* declares, “ that if any one carefully
 “ examines the inconsistencies of the four Gospels with regard to
 “ historical facts,— he will find himself giddy, as it were, and
 “ no longer insist on the truth of them all, but chuse to adhere

[a] Non enim verbis, aut verborum ordine, aut aliquo genere locutionis, sed etiam re ipsa videtur aliud esse, *calceamenta portare*, aliud, *corrigiam calceamenti solvere* — Si enim alterum horum dixit, ille verum videtur narrasse, qui hoc potuit narrare quod dixit : qui autem aliud, etsi non

est mentitus, certe vel oblitus, aliud pro alio dixisse putabitur. Omnem autem falsitatem abesse ab Evangelistis decet ; non solum eam, quæ mentiendo promitur, sed etiam eam, quæ obliviscendo, &c. De Consensu Evangelist. l. 2. §. 29.

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“ to one of them singly, not daring wholly to reject the faith of
 “ Christ; or else, if he admits them all, he must allow at the
 “ same time, that the truth of them does not lie in the outward
 “ character or letter of them [a].” It will be answered perhaps,
 that *Origen* was so addicted to the Allegorical sense of Scripture,
 and so prejudiced in it's favor, as not to care, what absurdities
 were charged upon the literal text, if he could but draw a
 mystery out of it. But tho' this be granted, it will not invali-
 date his charge of inconsistency on the letter of the Gospels; of
 which, by his indefatigable study of the Scriptures, he was of all
 men the most competent Judge; and it was the reality of this
 very charge, which gave birth to those extravagant interpretations,
 in which he indulged himself [b].

St. Austin lays down a general rule for the solution of all these
 difficulties, which he earnestly recommends to our attention and
 observance; “ that whenever we find the Evangelists inconsistent,
 “ in their accounts of any thing said, or done by our Lord, we
 “ are not to suppose them speaking of the same thing, but of
 “ some other, very like to it, said or done at a different time.
 “ For it is a *sacrilegious vanity*, he says, to calumniate the
 “ Gospels, rather than believe the same thing to have been twice
 “ performed, when no man can prove, that it could not really be
 “ so: and when this rule fails, his next direction is, to take up
 “ with any solution, rather than allow it as a consequence, that
 “ any of the Evangelists had been guilty either of a lie, or a
 “ mistake [c].” Which is nothing else in effect, but to require
 us,

[a] Comment. in Johan. T. 2. p. 151.
 Edit. Huet.

[b] Ego, in Scripturarum enarratione,
 unum Originem decem Orthodoxis ante-
 posuerim. *Erasmi* in Gal. ii. 10.

[c] Quod commendare memoriae dili-
 genter debemus— ut si quando talia sin-
 gula apud singulos invenerimus, atque in
 eis contrarium, quod solvi non possit, oc-
 currat nobis, non hoc esse factum, sed aliud

simile— De Conf. Evang. l. 2. §. 69.

Etiam atque etiam retinendum est, sa-
 pius Dominum eadem dixisse, ut quod ex-
 istente contrario solvi non potuerit, his
 dictum intelligatur. *Ib.* l. 2. §. 106.

Calumniari autem Evangelio, dum non
 credit iterum factum, quod iterum fieri
 non potuisse nemo convincit, Sacrilegæ
 vanitatis est. *Ib.* §. 77.

us, to adhere to Systems in opposition to facts, and to renounce our senses, rather than our prejudices. His rule however has been religiously observed by the Commentators, who recur to it on all occasions, and declare the same thing to have been done twice or thrice, or till the repetition of it will clear up every difficulty, which disturbs and perplexes them.

But the point, which I am affirming, is evidently proved, not onely by the facts and instances produced above, but by the very solutions and interpretations, which are given of them upon the contrary hypothesis, which tho' contrived by men of the greatest learning and sagacity in all ages, are yet generally speaking so forced and unnatural, that they betray themselves, to be nothing else, but an artful defence of error. Whereas if they would but candidly own, as some few of them indeed have done, that the contradictions of the Evangelists, like to those of all other Authors, were owing to want of accuracy in recording circumstances of little moment; or to slips of memory, or to different informations, all would be easily and naturally accounted for, without any real offence or hurt to the authority of the Gospel.

For to run over again the several instances produced above; what advantage can the enemies of our religion draw from the difficulties, which are found in the two Genealogies? since they both of them agree, in affirming all, which a Christian is concerned to believe on that article; *that Jesus was of the seed of Abraham; of the family of David; and born in the flesh of the Virgin Mary.* What can it signify to us, whether it was *one woman onely, or two*, who anointed *Jesus*; or whether they anointed his head or his feet? since all that is instructive in the story may be equally learnt in either case; from the woman, that extraordinary mercies should produce a proportionable return of gratitude and love: from *Jesus*, a prediction, which we see accomplished at this day; *that the zeal of this woman should be propa-*

Tantum non putes consequens esse, ut quis erraverit. De Conf. Evang. l. 3. §. 43.
 in tanto & tam sancto culmine auctorita-

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gated with his Gospel over the face of the earth [a]. Of what consequence can it be, that *Judas's* treachery is told with some variation by the different Evangelists? since all, that is of service to religion, is equally clear in them all; that *Jesus* foretold to his Disciples both the Traitor and his treason, that when it should come to pass, *they might believe him to be the Christ [b].* Of what use could it be to know, whether it was *one or two* possessed with Devils; and *one or two* blind, whom *Jesus* cured, and whether it happened, as he was going or as he was returning from *Jericho*? it is enough to be assured, that all kinds of diseases yielded equally to his power, and were cured by the word of his mouth. Lastly, what if the Evangelists do not agree about the precise time of his crucifixion; whether it was at *the third* or *the sixth hour*: or in the story of his resurrection, whether *one or two Angels* appeared; whether *sitting* or *standing*; or whether *before* or *after Peter's coming* to the Sepulchre? it is sufficient, that they agree, in confirming all the principal circumstances, and in declaring them to have been accompanied with such prodigies, as were suitable to the dignity and importance of those great events.

Nay, all these differences and inconsistencies are so far from reflecting any discredit on Christianity, that on the contrary, they are found to be of real service, towards illustrating the truth of it. *This very thing, says Theophylact, gives a stronger proof of the integrity of the Evangelists, that they have not agreed in all points: for otherwise, they might have been suspected to have written by compact [c].* But while they really tend to establish the authority of the Evangelists, they clearly overthrow that hypothesis, which is commonly entertained concerning them, that in compiling their several Gospels, *they were constantly inspired and directed by an unerring Spirit.* This, I say, is evident, as well from the facts above stated, as from the express declarations of the Evangelists themselves, who are so far from pretending to any such privilege,

[a] Matt. xxvi. 13.

[b] Joh. xiii. 19.

[c] Δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ τῶτο μᾶλλον ἀληθεύ-

σιν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ὁμοφώνησαν, &c.
Theophyl. Proœm. in Matt.

that they in effect disclaim it, placing their whole credit on a foundation, merely human and common to all other writers ; on their knowledge of the truth of what they deliver, and on their fidelity in delivering it to the best of their knowledge.

Luke professes, that he had received all the principal facts of his Gospel, from those, who had been eye-witnesses and actors in them ; from whom he had got a perfect information of all things from the very beginning [a]. *John* declares, that he himself saw, and was present at all the transactions, which he relates : that he knew them therefore to be true, and recorded them, that others also might know and believe them : which declaration he repeats in the end of his Gospel, as the seal of it's veracity [b]. And this is the same profession, which is made by all other Historians, in order to procure credit to what they relate. *Herodotus* declares in several places, that he writes from his own knowledge and eyesight : and in others, from the best information, which he could get : and *Thucydides* tells us, like *John*, that he himself was present at many of the transactions recorded by him, and in others, like *Luke*, that he had done every thing in his power, to procure an exact account of them from those, who had been actors in them [c]. And this likewise is the foundation, on which the Advocates of Christianity, both antient and modern, have constantly put the credibility of the Evangelical history ; that the Authors of it were, either eye-witnesses of it themselves, or wrote from the information of those, who were. Which reasoning, as solid and rational as it has been thought in all ages, yet, upon the hypothesis of a perpetual inspiration, would be wholly trifling and impertinent ; since it could not be of any moment, whether they knew any thing or nothing of the matters related by them, if as some vainly imagine, they were but mere organs or pipes, through which God

[a] Luc. i. 1, 2.

2. p. 147. Edit. Lond.

[b] Joh. xix. 35 : xxi. 24 : 1 Ep. i.

Οἱς αὐτὸς τὸ παρῆν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δύναντον ἀκριβῆρα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπιξέ-
ελθων. Thucyd. l. 1. p. 13. Ed. Oxon.

1, 2, 3.

[c] Τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τῶν μὲν κάτω ἀκοῇ παραλαβούσας. Herod. l.

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thought fit to convey the knowledge of certain extraordinary facts and divine truths to the world [a].

It was once thought necessary, for the honor of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the *Septuagint*, to believe, “ that it was divinely inspired and dictated by God : and that seventy persons shut up separately in as many different cells, produced their several translations, all agreeing to a tittle with each other, both in the sense and the words.” This, though affirmed by all the primitive Fathers, as well as by many of the learned moderns, is now universally considered, as an undoubted fiction, contrived for the sake of conciliating the greater reverence to that antient version ; which was read, instead of the original Hebrew, in all the Synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews [b]. For besides the absurdities, which are charged upon this story, and the impertinence of recurring to a miracle, where there was no occasion for it, and where nothing was wanted to make such a translation, but a competent skill in two languages, the many imperfections of the version itself confute the pretence of it’s divine origin. The case is the same with the Gospels : the hypothesis of their inspiration was piously invented, to reflect the greater luster upon them, where there was not the least want of it : since nothing more is required to establish their authority, than to know, as we do in this case, that the compilers of them were perfectly informed of all the important facts, which they had undertaken to relate, and zealous to publish them for the common benefit of mankind : while many little omissions and inaccuracies, which

[a] Spiritus Sancti, cujus ipsi erant organa. Casaub. Exercit. 15. ad Baron. Ann. 12.

Ita nimirum, ut non solum sententiæ, sed & verba singula & verborum ordo ac tota dispositio sit a Deo, tanquam per semetipsum loquente. — Estius. in 2 Tim. iii. 16.

Litterulam unam aut notham esse, aut inscio Evangelista irrepsisse nego. Light-

foot, in Matt. xxvii. 9.

[b] Traditur sane mirabilem, planeque divinum in eorum verbis fuisse consensum, ut cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli sederint, ita enim eorum fidem Ptolomæo placuit explorare, in nullo verbo, vel verborum ordine alter ab altero discreparet, &c. August. de Civ. D. l. 18. c. 42. See this story related at large and confuted in Dr. Prideaux’s Connect. Vol. 2. p. 21.

are observable in their several narratives, clearly shew, that they could not be guided by a divine and infallible spirit. But this will be made still more evident, by considering, what the Antients have delivered to us concerning them.

Matthew, as the primitive writers generally agree, wrote his Gospel the first, and in *the Hebrew tongue* : which, for that reason, could not be of general use, nor hardly indeed any farther, than to the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, where it was published : for the Greek language was used at that time not onely by the Jews, even in their own country, but was the universal language of *the East* [a]. This original Gospel then being of little or no service beyond the precincts of *Jerusalem*, was soon laid aside, and within a few ages afterwards quite lost ; and a Greek translation of it made by *some body unknown*, took it's place very early, and was received in all Churches, as it is at this day, with a credit and authority equal to that of an Original. In which, tho' the Translator may be presumed to have been both faithful and equal to the task, yet, for any thing that we know, he may have been guilty of some mistakes, as *St. Jerom* supposes him to have actually been, and endeavours to shew, in one particular instance [b].

Mark followed *Matthew* ; and perceiving, as we may imagine, in his travels, that an History of our Saviour's life and acts was every where wanted and greedily desired, by the new converts, he wrote his Gospel, under the direction, as it is believed, of *St. Peter*, whose disciple he was : in which, tho' he has made some few variations, as well as additions to the former Gospel of

[a] Solus Matthæus Hebræo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio, ceteri Græco. Aug. de Conf. Evang. l. 1. §. 4.

Primus Matthæus Evangelium in Judæa Hebræo Sermonem edidit. Hieron. Proæm. in Matth. Vid. Græcor. Patrum testimonia de Matthæo a Millio collect. in Edit. N. T.

—Excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur. Hieron. in Epist. ad Galat. Op. T. 4. p. 255. Vid. Lightf.

Hor. Heb. in Matth. 1.

[b] Quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit non satis certum. Hieron. de Scriptorib. Eccles. in Matt.

Mihi videtur Matthæum, qui Evangelium Hebræo sermone conscripsit, non tam *vespere* dixisse, quam *sero* ; & eum, qui interpretatus est, verbi ambiguitate deceptum, non *sero*, interpretatum esse, sed *vespere*. Ad Hedib. T. 4. par. 1. p. 173

Matthew, yet he agrees with it so exactly in most particulars, that as it is said above, he is thought by the Commentators to have done little more than epitomize it [a].

Luke comes next, a Physician of *Antioch*, and a convert probably from paganism: who perceiving, that many others had published accounts, either false or imperfect, concerning the life and actions of *Jesus*, thought it necessary to write a third Gospel, under the direction, as it is thought, of *St. Paul*; and to the intent, as he himself declares, that the new Christians might be informed of the certain truth of those things, in which they had been instructed, and of which he had procured a perfect information from those, who had been eye-witnesses. But as he wrote at second hand and from hearsay onely, of things, which he himself had not seen, he is observed to have jumbled his facts together more confusedly, and described them more inaccurately, than the rest, who related them from their own knowledge [b].

John

[a] Marcus eum subsecutus, brevior ejus videtur. August. de Consens. Evan. l. 1. §. 4.

Ut sæpe ei præstet interpretis vicem. Grot. in Matt. xxviii. 1.

[b] Vid. Testimonia Græcor. de Luca a Millio collecta.

Evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit; Acta vero Apostolorum, sicut viderat. Hieron. de Scriptorib. Eccles.

Apparet illum non semel ob rerum coherentiam, connexuisse quæ temporibus erant discreta, quod suis locis patehet. Grot. in Luc. i. ver. 3.

Luke, who wrote his story from collections, which he had from others, and compiled it himself, hath not so exactly observed the order, wherein the things were done, &c. Hammond. Pref. in Matt.

N. B. This account of *Luke* may help us to solve that difficulty in the Martyr *Stephen's* speech, [Act. vii. 16.] in which it is said, that the *Patriarchs* were buried

in *Sichem*, in the Sepulcher, which *Abraham* bought of the Sons of *Emmor*: whereas, it was not *Abraham*, but *Jacob*, who bought that Sepulcher: and the Sepulcher, which *Abraham* purchased, was in a different place, and bought of a different person; *Ephron the Hittite, the Son of Zohar*. [Gen. xxiii. it. xxxiii. 19. it. Josh. xxiv. 32.] This passage then, as it now stands in the book of the Acts, is a manifest contradiction to the truth of history, as all the Critics acknowledge; some of whom have attempted to give an emendation of the text, but to no purpose, since the consent of all the copies in all ages effectually establishes the present reading: others have severally offered the best solutions, which they could invent, yet all of them forced and ridiculous, and no body, besides *Cappellus*, has ventured to intimate, that it might possibly be a slip of memory in *Stephen* himself. Vid. Cappelli Not. in Act. vii. 16.

John published his Gospel, the last of the four, to supply the defects and imperfections of the other three; moved to it, as the Primitive Fathers inform us, “ by the earnest sollicitation of his friends and of all the Bishops of *Asha*, who were persuaded, that such an history from him, would be of more service, and more likely to gain credit, than any, which were already published. Whereupon, at their request, having read over the other Gospels, he confirmed in general the truth of them, yet observed, that many things of consequence were either wholly omitted or too slightly touched in them; especially the actions of *Jesus*, which preceded the death of *John the Baptist*, and almost all those miracles, which deserved the most to be recorded, and were the properest for instruction; and above all, the declaration of his divinity and existence, prævious to his birth at *Bethlehem*. For which reasons, as all the Antients affirm, he undertook at last, with some reluctance, to write his own Gospel in a very advanced age:” which on that account *Grotius* calls a collection of things, omitted by the other three. And thus, as a writer of Antiquity observes, “ we have now a complete and perfect history of the Life and Acts of *Jesus*: for what was not taken notice of by *Matthew*, is recorded by *Mark*: what was forgotten by *Mark*, is added by *Luke*: and what was omitted still by all the three, is supplied by *John* [a].”

This

But it does not seem probable, that a person full of the Holy Ghost, as *Stephen* is said to have been, and who appears also, from this very speech, to have been greatly conversant with the *Mosaic* writings, should be capable of committing such a blunder, which may easily and naturally be accounted for by ascribing it to *Luke*, the compiler of the *Acts*; who being a late convert from Paganism, and but imperfectly acquainted with the Jewish learning and history, might easily mistake in the names of persons, and confound two

facts so nearly resembling each other. So that *Cappellus* might, with as much reason, have charged *Luke* with a mistake here, as he has actually done elsewhere, in the case of *Theudas*, the Impostor, who according to *Josephus*, did not make his appearance, till several years after that time, in which *Luke* introduces him. *Acts* vii. 16. vid. *Cappelli* not.

[a] Coactus est ab omnibus pene tunc *Afix* Episcopis, & multarum Ecclesiarum legationibus de divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere, &c. *Hieron.* Prolog. in *Matt.*—

Vid.

This is the Summ of what primitive Antiquity has delivered, concerning the history of the Gospels: which is utterly inconsistent with the notion of their being divinely inspired: for if any one of them had been a perfect work, as every work must needs be, which is directed by the Spirit of God, there had been no use or want of the rest; nor would they in reality have been written: unless we can believe, with some of the Primitive Fathers, *that it was necessary, that there should be four: because there are four elements; four climates; four cardinal winds; four cardinal virtues, &c.* [a].

The belief then of *the Inspiration and absolute infallibility of the Evangelists*, seems to be more absurd, than even of Transubstantiation itself: for this, tho' repugnant to sense, is supported by the express words of Scripture; whereas the other, not less contrary to sense, is contrary at the same time to the declarations of the Evangelists themselves. Yet such is the force of prejudice, that the generality of Expositors take great pains to search out texts and arguments for the support of this favorite hypothesis; not considering, that if they were able to produce any, from which they could extort such an interpretation, it would tend onely to the hurt and discredit of Christianity itself, by fastening upon it a doctrine, contradictory to fact and experience.

But in truth, all the arguments which are alledged for this doctrine, are generally so trifling, that instead of confirming, they render it onely more contemptible to men of judgement. Thus the learned *Lightfoot* attempts to prove the divine inspiration of *Luke*, from the word *ἀνωθεν*, in the preface of his Gospel, which implies, as is interpreted by this Critic, that *Luke* had received his information of the things, which he relates, *from above or from heaven* [b]: whereas it signifies nothing more, but that he had searched,

Vid. Testimonia Patrum Græcor. de *Johanne*, a Millio collecta—

Additum a Johanne, in hac quasi pre-
termisforum collectione. Grot. in Joh.

[a] Quatuor, quoniam quatuor sunt

partes Orbis terræ, &c. August. de Conf. Evang. l. 1. §. 3. it. vid. Irenæum. l. 3. c. 11. Theophyl. Proæm. in Matth.

[b] Assecuto omnia cœlitus vel e super-
nis— Hunc sensum nos amplectimur: ut-
pote

searched and traced them out from their very source, or beginning : in which sense it is frequently applied by all the best writers of antiquity, and even by *Luke* himself in another place [a].

I shall not dwell therefore any longer on the proof of this point ; which from the facts above recited, and the professions of the Evangelists themselves, as well as the accounts, which are given of them by the antients, seems evident to a demonstration ; but shall procede, as I at first proposed, to consider, what use may be made of the opinion here affirmed, in the controversies, which have been agitated, concerning *the grounds of Christianity*, and especially in those, which relate to *the prophecies of the Old Testament*, as they are cited and applied in the New.

Soon after *Jesus* had entered upon his ministry, and gathered to himself a number of Disciples, he chose out of them, twelve, to be his immediate companions and constant attendants during his residence on earth, and after his ascension into heaven, to be the principal instruments of publishing his religion to all nations. These were called his Apostles ; persons of the lowest condition of life, chiefly Fishermen ; void of every ornament and advantage, which learning, art, and languages usually add to the characters and faculties of men : and chosen by their Master, for this very reason, that the triumphs of his Gospel might be the more conspicuous, in subduing all the powers and wisdom of the world by the ministry of persons so abject and despicable. The Jews in the mean while, to whom the Gospel was in the first place proposed, were zealously fond of their old religion, and on that account, strongly prejudiced against his new one : and being forbidden by their law, to give credit even to miracles, when wrought in favour of doctrines, which seemed to contradict the institutions of *Moses*, were the more jealous, and on their guard against this new Prophet ; lest by his mighty works, he might lead the people astray from their antient worship. Wherefore

pote quod extra omnem controversiam sit, in Luc. i. & in Act. i.

eum cœlesti afflatu calamus dirigente ea [a] Vid. Erasim. & Grot. in Luc. i. 3.

scripsisse, quæ scripsit. Vid. Hor. Hebraic. it. in Act. xxvi. 5.

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Jesus, in order to remove their scruples, and calm their apprehensions, took all occasions to convince them, that he was not come to *destroy*, but to *fulfill their law*; that he was the *very Messiah*, whom *Moses and the Prophets* had foretold and prepared them to expect; and that his character and commission were clearly described and prefigured to them in their own books, to which he appealed, as the witnesses of his veracity [a].

This was the general doctrine of *Jesus*: but the Evangelists have recorded but very few of the particular prophecies, which he applied, to the confirmation of it: the event however shews, that it was so well supported by him, as to have great weight with many of the Jews.

The Apostles then, having been specially instructed in this point by their Master, before his death, and more clearly still after his resurrection, no sooner entered upon their ministry, than they made this, as they were commanded [b], the chief subject of their preaching; *that the person and character of Jesus were described and foretold by the law and the Prophets*: by the force of which argument the Apostle *Peter*, in one of his first sermons, is said to have converted *three thousand souls* [c]. The rest of the Apostles, as we may imagine, were not less zealous and active, in publishing the same doctrine, both by preaching and writing: and *Matthew* especially, who wrote his Gospel for the particular information of the Jews, appears to have been more diligent than any of them, in searching the old Scriptures for passages, which in any sense could be applied to some circumstance or action of *Jesus's* life: and like all other men warmly persuaded, and fond of a new hypothesis, seems to have strained it in a few instances, farther than it would naturally reach, and to have applied it even to some, to which it has no relation at all.

Mr. *Whiston*, of whose piety and zeal for the honor of Christianity no man can doubt, has freely and candidly owned, *that*

[a] Matt. v. 17. Joh. v. 39, 45, 46, &c.

[b] Act. x. 42.

[c] Act. ii. 41.

the *Apostles* might possibly be supposed, to have been mistaken sometimes in their applications of these prophecies [a]. If their inspiration therefore, or infallibility was thrown out of this question, what I am here saying of *Matthew*, would readily be admitted ; that, out of zeal for an Hypothesis, of whose truth he was assured, he might be apt, like all other men, to stretch it to cases, to which it did not belong. This is allowed with regard to the *Jewish Doctors*, by an ingenious and orthodox Defender of Christianity, who says ; “ that under the strong expectations, which “ they entertained of the coming of a *Messiah*, it may well be sup- “ posed, that the learned among them had, with more than or- “ dinary attention, searched the prophetic writings for marks and “ designations of him, and might probably apprehend him to be “ delineated in some passages, which had no relation to him. If “ we consider the obscurity of the prophecies before their comple- “ tion ; how apt a man, who reads such writings with an inten- “ tion to one point, would be, to fancy a relation to it, and with “ what fondness he would entertain any appearance of so reput- “ able a discovery ; it can scarce be imagined, but that instances “ of this kind must have happened [b].” What this writer thinks so probable of the learned Doctors of the Jews, must needs appear more probable of the Apostles, who were not learned : who, as I have shewn elsewhere, being liable to slight mistakes, and in- advertencies, in the representation of plain and ordinary events, may more reasonably be presumed to be so, in the interpretation of dark prophecies. But as it is not my design to inquire into probabilities, but into facts, so I shall lay before the reader two or three examples of *Matthew's* method of citing and applying the prophecies of the *Old Testament* to the transactions of the New.

Thus, says he, it is written by the Prophet ; *And thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah, art by no means the least among the Prin- ces of Judah, for out of thee shall come a Governor, who shall rule my people Israel.* But the words of the Prophet are ; *But thou*

[a] See his *Litteral Accomplishment*, p. 20. §. x. [b] Dr. Rogers Serm. 5. p. 123.

Reasons for the Variations.

Belshazzar's Feast, though there be little among the thousands of
Judah, yet out of thee, &c. [a]. St. Jerom observes on this place,
 " that there is a strange difference between *Matthew* and the
 " Septuagint-translation of the Bible, but a stranger still between
 " him and the Hebrew text, for he agrees with neither of them
 " either in the words or the sense." And he suggests two reasons
 for this disagreement; " that *Matthew* might probably intend, by
 " this way of applying Scripture, to reprove the *Scribes and Pha-*
 " *risees*, who used the same negligent manner of interpreting it :
 " or else, that the Evangelists and Apostles did not cite the pas-
 " sages of the Old Testament from books, but from their me-
 " mories, which sometimes failed them, and gave rise to those
 " variations, which are found among them in the order, and in
 " the words, and sometimes also in the sense [b]."

Modern Commentators are generally more cautious of charging
 the least suspicion of a mistake on the Evangelist, tho' they cannot
 reconcile his meaning with that of the Prophet : but *Erasmus*
 laughs at the weakness of those, " who take the authority of the
 " Scriptures to be endangered by the allowance of an error in
 " them, and declares ; that the divine Spirit, who governed the
 " minds of the Apostles, suffered them on some occasions to err,
 " through ignorance, affection, or wrong judgement, without
 " any real detriment to the credit of the Gospel [c]."

Matthew having shewn the place of our Saviour's birth to have
 been foretold by the Prophets, proceeds to shew the same also,
 concerning the place of his habitation. *He came*, says he, *and*
dwelt in a City called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled, which

[a] Matt. ii. 5, 6. Micah. v. 2.

[b] Quanta sit inter *Matthæum* & *Septuaginta*, verborum ordinisq[ue] discordia, sic magis admiraberis, si *Hebraicum* videas — sensusq[ue] contrarius est, *Septuaginta* sibi hoc in loco & *Hebraico* concordante. — Hieron. de Opt. gen. interpret. T. 4. par. 2. p. 253. — It. Eiusdem

Comm. in Micah. v. T. 3. p. 1531.

[c] Neque enim continuo vacillet totius Scripturæ auctoritas, sicubi variet vel in verbis vel in sensu — Spiritus ille divinus mentium Apostolicarum moderator passus est suos ignorare quædam & labi, &c. in Matt. ii. 6.

was spoken by the Prophet, He shall be called a Nazarene [a]. Now it is agreed by all, that the passage cited here by Matthew, as delivered by the Prophets, is not to be found in any Prophet or writer of the Old Testament whatsoever: and it is pleasant to see, to what ridiculous shifts the Commentators are driven, in their attempts to account for it [b]. They first adapt some particular senses of their own to the word, *Nazarene*, in which still they all differ from each other, and then labor to shew, that in one or other of those senses, it may be collected from several dispersed passages, and obscure hints found in different parts of the Old Testament. Grotius tells us, that when the Evangelists cite the Prophets, in this loose and general manner, it frequently indicates a sense, picked up from many separate passages of the Old Testament, rather than from any single text [c]. Yet no man has ever pretended to make out from any or all those different texts, that sense of the word *Nazarene*, which is here applied by Matthew, to denote an inhabitant of Nazareth. The difficulty is, says Dr. Hammond, how his dwelling at Nazareth should be said to be the completion of a prophecy, which relates not at all to his dwelling there [d]. The learned, says Heinsius, have taken such pains about this passage, that whole books have been written upon it; yet not one writer has been able to hit upon any thing, which could satisfy even himself [e].

Again; Then was fulfilled, says Matthew, that which was spoken by Jeremiah the Prophet, saying; and they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the Potter's field, as the Lord appointed me [f]. This prophecy, as all the Expositors allow, is

[a] Matt. ii. 23.

[b] This text, says Mr. Whiston, is entirely wanting in all our Copies, Hebrew and Greek, nor do there at present the least footsteps of it remain, since the Jews corrupted their Copies.— See Essay on the O. T. p. 104. it. The Litteral Accom-

plishment of Script. Prophecies, p. 4.

[c] Sæpe sensum multis ex locis depromptum, magis quam unius loci verba indicat. &c. Grot. in loc.

[d] Hammond in loc.

[e] Heinsii Exercitat. Sac. in loc.

[f] Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.

not to be found in the Prophet *Jeremiah*, from whom it is expressly cited. “ Something like to it, says *Jerom*, is to be met with in *Zachariah*; which, tho’ not differing much in sense, yet varies greatly in the words, and in the order of them. I have seen however, adds he, this very text word for word, in an apocryphal book of *Jeremiah*, which a Jew lately shewed me: yet the prophecy seems rather to have been taken from *Zachariah* [a].” He was unwilling to impute here to *Matthew*, the practice of citing his prophetic testimonies from apocryphal books, which yet others, both among the antients and moderns, have not scrupled to affirm likewise very freely of *St. Paul*, and the other Apostles [b]. It is observed by the Critics, that some few copies of the New Testament, in the early ages, had not the word *Jeremiah* in this text; which they suppose to have been omitted designedly by the Transcribers, for the sake of clearing *Matthew* from the imputation of a mistake: as *Austin* himself, from the consent of the best Greek copies, is forced to allow [c]; tho’ of all the primitive Fathers, he seems the

[a] Hoc testimonium in *Jeremiah* non invenitur: in *Zachariah* vero quædam similitudo fertur: & quanquam sensus non multum discrepet, tamen & ordo & verba diversa sunt. Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod mihi Hebræus obtulit, *Jeremie Apocryphum*, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi. Sed tamen mihi videtur magis de *Zacharia* sumptum testimonium. in *Matt.* xxvii. T. 4. p. 134.

[b] Ut omittam longas & varias inquisitiones quibus hunc locum nonnulli interpretum involvunt hoc mihi simplicissimum judicatur, ut dicamus Evangelistam ex apocrypho quodam *Jeremie* volumine hoc desumpsisse testimonium, &c. Vid. *Zeger*. in *Matt.* xxvii. 9. Vid. it. *Grotium* in loc.

Zacharias, Chrysopolitanus Episcopus, p. 343. testatur se hoc testimonium invenisse

in *secretis Eliæ Prophetæ*, qui liber est Apocryphus, non Canonicus. Eadem scribit *Georgius Syncellus*, cujus verba invenies apud *Scaligerum* in notis ad *Eusebium*, de Apostolo etiam *Paulo* libros Apocryphos citante. *Drusæ*, in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. ii. 9. it. *Zeger*. ibid.—Vid. etiam de Christo Apocryphis utente. *Orig. Comm.* in *Matt.* p. 225. Edit. *Huet*.

[c] Vid. *Millii* Notas in loc. it. *Grot.* ibid.

Qui diligentius in Græcis Codicibus Evangelium consideraverunt, in antiquioribus Græcis ita se perhibent invenisse—cur autem de nonnullis Codicibus tolleretur, audax imperitis fecit, cum turbaretur questione, quod hoc testimonium apud *Jeremiam* non inveniretur. *August.* de Conf. Evang. l. 3. §. 29.

most bigotted to the notion, *that the Evangelists could not err*. To heal this difficulty therefore, he gives us two solutions of his own invention, but both of them strangely absurd and ridiculous.

First; he says, “ that *Matthew* was directed by the Holy Spirit, “ to commit this mistake of putting *Jeremiah* for *Zachariah* ; “ which upon recollection, he would surely have corrected, if he “ had not been convinced, that it was suggested by the secret “ counsil of Providence for wise purposes. For since all the “ Prophets were inspired by one and the same Spirit, and had “ but one and the same view in their writings, people would see by this instance, that it was wholly indifferent, which of them “ was named or cited, for what was said by any of them ; and “ that the sayings of *Zachariah* were as much *Jeremiah*’s as *Zachariah*’s, and so vice versa ; so that there was no occasion for “ *Matthew*, to correct this seeming blunder, when he knew himself, at the time of making it, to be under the direction of the “ Holy Ghost [a].”

2dly, He observes, “ that there is an account in *Jeremiah*, “ how the Prophet bought a field of his Uncle’s son ; not indeed “ for *thirty pieces of silver*, for these are mentioned onely by *Zachariah*, as the purchase of a field is mentioned onely by *Jeremiah* : the reader therefore finding *Jeremiah* cited in the Gospel, and not finding in *Jeremiah*, the *thirty pieces of silver*, “ which are added by *Matthew*, might thence be admonished, “ that these also were applicable to *Jesus*, and so come at the sense “ of another prophecy, which was mystically related to him.”

As to the rest of this text in *Matthew* ; *the price of him, that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the Potter’s field, as the Lord appointed me*. “ It is not, “ as he says, to be found, either in *Zachariah* or *Jeremiah*, but “ was mystically and elegantly added by the *Evangelist*, who had “ learnt from Christ himself, that it related to *the thirty pieces of silver*, for which he was sold : for as the price of the field

[a] Ibid. §. 30.

“in *Jeremiab* is said, to have been put into an earthen vessel, so
 “the price of *Jesus* was applied to the purchase of a Potter’s
 “field [a].”

This explication was too extravagant, to be followed, as usual, by modern Commentators: who account therefore for this difficulty, by supposing either some inadvertency of the first transcribers, in putting *Jeremiab* for *Zachariab*; or a slip of memory in *Matthew* himself, or, what is more probable, that the passage was cited from that apocryphal book of *Jeremiab*, in which *St. Jerom* had read it word for word: which they shew, to have been the case likewise of many other passages of the New Testament [b]. *Jerom* indeed tells us, “that when we meet with any citations
 “made by the Apostles, as from the Prophets, which cannot be
 “found in the Old Testament, we must not recurr presently to
 “the absurdities of apocryphal books, but believe them to be really
 written in the old Scriptures, yet cited by the Apostles, not according to the words, but to the meaning of them; so that it
 “cannot easily be discovered, in what part of the Scriptures they
 “are written, except by the learned and studious [c].” And to say the truth; the learned may draw what senses they please out of any book whatsoever, by the same method, with which they have made out the sense of the passages now before us.

Lastly, *Matthew* speaking of *Jesus* says; *He cast out Spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick; that it might be ful-*

[a] August. de Conf. Evang. l. 3. §. 30.

[b] Aut enim culpa Scribarum commutatum nomen aut memoriæ vitio. *Erasm.* in Matt xxvii. 8.

Jeremiæ nomen irrepsisse videtur, vel culpa exscribentis, vel memoriæ vitio. *Drusius.* ibid. Vid. it. *Bezam.* *Lightfoot.*

Hoc mihi simplicissimum videtur, Evangelistam ex Apocrypho quodam *Jeremiæ* volumine sumsisse testimonium, & idem quoque Apostolum Paulum fecisse. *Zeger.* ib. Tale *Enochi* illud apud *Judam.* [14,

15.] tale illud. [1 Cor. ii. 9.] *Grot.* ibid.

[c] Hoc autem totum nunc idcirco observavimus, ut etiam in ceteris locis, si cubi testimonia quasi de Prophetis, & de veteri Testamento ab Apostolis usurpata sunt, & in nostris Codicibus non habentur, nequaquam statim ad Apocryphorum ineptias & deliramenta curramus; sed sciamus scripta ea quidem esse in Veteri Testamento, sed non ita ab Apostolis edita, &c. in Epist. ad Ephes. Op. T. 4. p. 392.

filled, which was spoken by Isaiah, saying; himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses [a]. Erasmus remarks here, "that, in the application of this prophecy, Matthew has wrested it a little to his own purpose [b]." It is taken from the 53d chapter of *Isaiah*, where the Prophet is describing the character of a suffering Messiah, who was to take our sins upon him, and give himself up to death for the expiation of them: to which sense Jesus himself often alludes, declaring, that he came to give his life a ransom for many, and that his blood was shed for many, for the remission of sins [c]. And to this sense all the other Apostles constantly apply it; telling us; how Jesus bare our sins, in his own body, on the tree; was offered for the sins of many; was the Lamb slain, and propitiation made for the sins of the whole world [d]. But what the Prophet had foretold of a Messiah, taking upon himself our sins, the Evangelist applies to Jesus, as taking away our bodily diseases: an interpretation, wholly foreign to the meaning of the prophecy; peculiar to Matthew; and no where confirmed by any other of the sacred writers.

These instances are sufficient for the use, which I propose to make of them.

As to the first; the best solution, which has been given of it, is; "that either Matthew's memory failed him in the recital of it; or that he cited it imperfectly and inaccurately on purpose, to reprove the Scribes and Pharisees for the same loose and negligent method of interpreting the Scriptures, in which they freely indulged themselves."

The second, as all the Interpreters agree, is not to be found in any part of the Old Testament: and the whole, which is said for it, is, "that in some sense or other, it may be collected from several different expressions of different Prophets, joined and tacked together; and so made to suit, by way of accommo-

[a] Matt. viii. 16, 17.

[c] Matt. xx. 28. xxvi. 28.

[b] Adduxit hoc testimonium Matthæus,

[d] Heb. ix. 28. Rom. iii. 25. 1 Pet.

nonnihil ad suum deflectens negotium. ii. 24. 1 Joh. ii. 2, &c.

Erasm. in loc.

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"*dition* [a], as Dr. Hammond says, with some particular circumstance of *Jesus's* life.

The third was taken, in all probability, from a spurious and apocryphal book, of no authority, falsely ascribed to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, in which it was read by *St. Jerom*, and never found in any other [b].

The fourth is manifestly strained by *Matthew* to a sense, totally different from that of the Prophet, as it is explained by all the other sacred writers.

But as in these instances, we find *Matthew* accommodating the sense of Prophecies, to an agreement with the facts of his Gospel, so, on the other hand, we find him also accommodating his facts, to the sense of the prophecies. For example; He tells us, that *Jesus*, preparing to make a solemn entry into *Jerusalem*, ordered two of his Disciples, to go and bring to him an *Ass* and a *Colt* with her, which they would find tied together in a certain village: and they went, as *Jesus* commanded them, and brought the *Ass* and the *Colt*, and put on them their cloaths and set him thereon. All this was done, says he, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the Prophet, saying, tell ye the daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh unto thee meek, sitting upon an *Ass* and a *Colt*, the foal of an *Ass* [c]. The Commentators are puzzled here to determine, on which of the two *Jesus* rode; whether on the *Ass*, or the *Colt*; while the letter of the text seems to declare, that he sat upon them both; as some of the Antients, and of the moderns also have interpreted it; who solve the seeming absurdity, by supposing, that he first mounted the one, and then the other: the *Ass* denoting the Jewish, and the Foal, the Gentile Church; of both which he was now become the common Head [d]. But all this difficulty

[a] Hamm. on Matt. ii. 23.

[b] Omittamus earum Scripturarum fabulas, quæ apocryphæ nuncupantur — in his enim etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa, nulla est Canonica

ea Auctoritas. August. de Civ. D. l. 15. c. 23.

[c] Matt. xxi. 5. Zach. ix. 9.

[d] Ad quod quæri utri Dominus jumento infederit, pullone an asinæ: alii ipsum

culty will vanish at once, if we take the account of this same fact, as it is given by the other Evangelists; who expressly say; that it was *the Foal or the Colt* only, which *Jesus* sent for and rode upon: which is the most probable, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the concurrent testimony of three against one. But it is remarkable, that as *John* relates the same fact differently from *Matthew*, so he cites the same prophecy also as differently: and as, in his Gospel, he speaks of no more than *the Colt*, so in the prophecy he drops the mention of *the Ass*, and takes no more, than what relates to *the Colt* [a]. Whence it appears, that as *Matthew* adapted his fact to the letter of the prophecy, so *John* accommodated the letter of the prophecy to the reality of the fact.

The late Dr. *Rogers*, treating this very question, in one of his Sermons, affirms *the inspiration of the Apostles* to be a fundamental point in it: and, upon that hypothesis, gives two general solutions of all the objections, which are made to the application of these prophecies in the New Testament. 1st, "That such applications of them, tho' groundless or false in themselves, yet being such, as were commonly received, and passed for current among the Jews, might properly be urged to them by persons inspired, as arguments *ad hominem*, upon their own concessions, without any impeachment of their inspiration. 2dly, "To bring the matter, as he says, to a short issue, he affirms, "that all such applications must necessarily be true, because they were made *by persons inspired* [b]." The absurdity of which reasoning shews, to what contemptible shifts the most plausible writers will be reduced, when intangled with the defence of Systems, which are contradictory to plain facts.

ipsum utrique, prius uni deinde alteri in-
sedisse respondent: atque in hac sententia
est Augustinus de Conf. Evang. l. 2. c.
66. Alii de pullo duntaxat—& quod hic
de utroque dicitur animante, ad Allego-
riam transmittendum autumant, populi

Judaici & populi Gentilis. Zeger. in
Matt. v. it. Casaub. in Matt. v. 7. it.
Origen. Edit. Huet. p. 430. E.

[a] Joh. xii. 15:

[b] Rogers Serm. p. 121. & p. 127.

When Jesus opened to the Jews these evidences of his mission, from their own Prophets, he admonished them *to search the Scriptures*, for the proof and trial of the truth of what he alleged [a]. The Apostles did the same; constantly exhorting them, to examine the Old Testament, that they might see, whether the testimonies, to which they appealed, were *for* or not: and the people of *Beræa* are particularly commended, for *searching the Scriptures more diligently, than the rest of the Jewish Converts* [b]. Now there could be no other meaning in this appeal to the Scriptures, on the one side, and this search of them, on the other, but to try, whether the particular testimonies, referred to by the Apostles, were really to be found in them, and in that very sense, to which they were applied. This is the foundation, on which Christ and his Apostles put the decision of this question: and it is the sole foundation, on which the Jews could rationally be convinced and converted to the faith of the Gospel. To affirm then, as the Doctor above mentioned has done, *that the Inspiration of the Apostles*, is the fundamental point, on which it depends, is in effect, to teach the contrary, to what Christ and his Apostles had taught; “that we
 “need not trouble ourselves on this occasion with searching the
 “Scriptures; and that the search of them is fruitless; for tho’
 “the passages, referred to by the Evangelists, should not be
 “found in them, which is the case of some, or found in a sense
 “quite different from that, to which they are applied, which is
 “the case of others, yet we must receive them all as infallibly
 “true, because they are delivered by persons inspired.”

But to speak a word or two to each of his solutions. As to the first, it is utterly incredible, that persons inspired and specially commissioned by God, to propagate a particular doctrine, and supplied consequently with proofs the most authentic and demonstrative of it's truth, could on any account be reduced, to make use of trifling or equivocal arguments for the support of it; much less

[a] Job. v. 39.

[b] Acts xvii. 11.

of such, as are false and groundless. Yet if this should in any manner be thought probable, in an occasional conference or debate with private persons, who had been trained and accustomed to that sort of reasoning, it is surely inconsistent with any notion of inspiration, to publish such arguments in writing, to all the world, and to all posterity, as the standing and perpetual proofs of the Christian doctrine, which they knew in reality to be no proofs at all, except to a few particular Jews, of those very times; and which, instead of doing service to religion, could serve onely for matter of doubt and cavil to all succeeding times.

As to his second solution; if we should ask, how it appears, that the Apostles were actually inspired, in their interpretations of these prophecies? it will be answered, I suppose, because they *wrought miracles* [a]. And so far indeed I agree, that in the act of working miracles, they were certainly inspired with an extraordinary power; but when that act was over, and the special purpose of those miracles served, it is reasonable to believe, from the evidence of those facts, which I have elsewhere set forth, that they returned to the condition of fallible men.

Peter wrought many miracles, yet was charged afterwards by *Paul*, with *acting in contradiction to the truth of the Gospel* [b]. *Paul* wrought as many, yet in some cases *disclames any inspiration* [c]. *Barnabas* also wrought miracles, yet *Paul* and he quarrelled so far, as to part in great wrath from each other, about *Mark, the Evangelist*, whom *Paul* looked upon as a Deserter; *Barnabas*, as an honest man: where one of them, was surely mistaken, and both of them probably to be blamed [d].

If the Apostles indeed had called the Jews together, and wrought a miracle before them, in confirmation of any particular interpretation of Scripture, this reasoning would be just, and the miracle rightly alledged for the truth of such interpretation: but since this was not the case, the inference is certainly groundless, that miracles wrought at one time, prove the workers of

[a] Rogers Serm. 128.

[b] Galat. ii. 14.

[c] 1 Cor. vii. 12, 25. 2 Cor. xi. 17.

Gal. iii. 15.

[d] Aët. xv. 39.

REFLECTIONS on the *Variations*,

them, to have been infallible at all times. Nay the power of working miracles is so far from proving those, who are indued with it, to be perpetually inspired, or specially favored by God, that it does not prove them even to be good or honest men: since according to the constant testimony of the most esteemed and orthodox of the Primitive Fathers, it was possessed sometimes by *wicked men, and Heretical Christians*, corrupt both in faith and manners [a].

Let us now see, what use the enemies of Christianity have endeavoured to make of the prophecies applied by the Evangelists in the manner above specified; and what answer the truth of the case will oblige us to give to them. The Author of a *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, asserts, "that the foundation of it is laid by the Evangelists, on the proof of this point, *that the mission and character of Jesus were foretold by the Prophets*; and that the validity of this proof depends intirely on the force of those particular prophecies which the same Evangelists have applied to the illustration of it, in their several Gospels [b]." Upon this hypothesis, he undertakes to shew, "that the Prophecies, so applied by them, do not at all relate to *Jesus*, in their proper and literal signification, but onely in a secondary, typical and figurative sense: and then by exposing this way of interpreting them, as equivocal, precarious, and incapable of yielding any rational conviction, he imagines that he has done, what he aimed at, and overturned the foundation of the Christian religion."

And in truth, if we admit, that Christianity has no other foundation than what he has assigned to it, it might not perhaps be

[a] Ut intelligamus, quædam miracula etiam Sceleratos homines facere, qualia Sancti facere non possunt—

Quapropter aliter Magi faciunt miracula; aliter boni Christiani; aliter mali Christiani. Auguft. Op. T. 6. p. 71.

Hoc adverſus Hæreticos, qui probatio-

nem fidei ſuæ ex eo, ſi ſignum aliquod fecerint, arbitrantur. Hier. T. 4. p. 252. Vid. it. Chryſoſt. T. 3. p. 64. D. it. T. 7. p. 376. D. Edit. Bened.

[b] See Diſc. on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, p. 4, 5, 26, 27.

difficult

difficult for him to make good the rest : for upon that supposition, he has thrown many objections in our way, which it is scarce possible to get clear of. But while he fancied himself to be demolishing foundations, he was battering onely such parts of the edifice, as serve for it's ornament, rather than it's support. He professes to shew, that the *Prophecies cited by Matthew*, relate to *Jesus* onely in a figurative sense; and if he had shewn, that some of them did not relate to him in any sense at all, he would have done no more, than what some of the primitive Fathers, as well as modern Critics had done before him, without designing or doing the least hurt to Christianity.

Jesus, as it is said above, declared in general, *that Moses and the Prophets had testified of him* : but since the Evangelists did not think it necessary to give a precise account, or deduction of the several prophecies, which were alledged by him in proof of that declaration ; it is sufficient to take it, just as we find it ; as being true in general ; without thinking ourselves obliged to defend all the particular instances and applications, which were offered afterwards in support of it, by fallible men. It is *Jesus* onely, who is called *the Truth* ; and who alone was incapable of error : but he suffered his *Apostles*, as *Erasmus* says, *to be drawn sometimes into mistakes, by a wrong judgement or affection, &c. [a]*. These then being full of zeal for this new doctrine, taught them in general by their Master, yet wanting his unerring spirit, may probably be supposed, from an eagerness of explaining and illustrating it, to have strained it in some cases farther than it would bear ; in the same manner, as their Successors continued also to do more remarkably in the following ages ; who, full of the same zeal, yet without the same knowledge, stretched this argument of prophecy still farther, and discovered, as they imagined, many more instances of it applicable to *Jesus*, than ever the Evangelists and Apostles had dreamt of.

[a] Passus est suos ignorare quædam sectu. in Matth. ii. 6.
& labi, errareque alicubi judicio sine af-

This therefore may serve for a general answer to all the objections, which are made *to the prophecies of the Old Testament, as they are cited and said to be fulfilled in the New*: that we are not obliged to receive all such applications of them, as infallible; that Christianity does not depend upon it; that whoever shall attack it on this article, will labor onely in vain, unless he can shew; that the *mission and character of Jesus* were not, in any manner or sense at all, prefigured in the Old Testament, or that *Moses and the Prophets had no where testified of him*. This is the single point, which can affect or hurt the cause of Christianity, and all the cavils, which fall short of this, may justly be slighted, as of no real weight in this quæstion.

Mr. *Whiston* in defending *The Litteral Accomplishment of the Scripture-prophecies*, against the Author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, has produced *forty five prophecies* from the Old Testament, which are all cited in the New, in proof of the *Messiahship of Jesus*, and which he declares to have been *clearly and directly fulfilled, without the least pretence of any reply from that Author or any other whatsoever* [a]. Now if any number of these, how small soever, are found to be as clearly accomplished, as he takes them to be, they are sufficient to support the authority of the Gospel, tho' all the rest were thrown aside.

But to say the truth, the grounds of our faith, in these *later ages of the Church*, do not lie in the particular interpretations of prophecies, made by men, who might be mistaken, and who, as *Jerom* says more than once, *by trusting to their memories, in citing these very prophecies, were frequently mistaken in the words, and sometimes in the sense of them* [b]. Nor is the evidence of prophecy

[a] See *The Litteral Accomplishment of Script. Proph. &c.* p. 1.—19. See also *The Supplement, &c.* p. 1, 2.

[b] Sunt autem qui asserunt; in omnibus pene testimoniis, quæ de Veteri Testamento sumuntur, istiusmodi esse errorem,

ut aut ordo mutetur aut verba; & interdum sensus quoque diversus sit: vel Apostolis, vel Evangelistis non ex libro carpentibus testimonia, sed memoriæ creditibus, quæ nonnunquam fallitur. Hieron. in Micah. c. 5. Op. T. 3. p. 1531.

phesy so proper, in these days, *to convert men to the faith of Christ, as to confirm those, who have already embraced it [a]*: Serving chiefly, as St. Paul expresses it, *not to them, who believed not, but to them, who believe [b]*.

Upon the first promulgation of the Gospel, while the conversion of the Jews was the principal object of our Savior's ministry, and afterwards of his Apostles, the argument of prophecy was, of all others, the best adapted to persuade and conquer the prejudices of that nation. But in preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, not acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures, nor tinged with any Jewish prejudices, the testimony of it's miracles, and the purity of it's doctrines, were the most affecting proofs of it's divine origin. Yet when by the evidence of these, people had once received the Christian faith, and acquired a competent knowledge of it, they would then perceive, that the argument of prophecy, was a part also of the evidence, essentially necessary to complete the demonstration of it's truth. And on this foundation *Grotius* has built the best Apology for it, which has ever been published perhaps since the times of the Apostles.

To conclude ; the chief purpose of these inquiries, is, to shew, that Christianity cannot be defended to the satisfaction of speculative and thinking men, but by reducing it to it's original simplicity, and stripping it of the false glosses, and systems, with which it has been incumbered, through the prejudices of the pious, as well as the arts of the crafty and the interested. One of the principal of these incumbrances, as far as I am able to judge, is the notion, which is generally inculcated by our Divines, concerning *the perpetual inspiration and infallibility of the Apostles and Evangelists*: a notion, which has imported such difficulties and

Hoc autem in omnibus pene testimoniis, quæ de veteribus libris in novo assumta sunt Testamento, observare debemus: quod memoriæ crediderint Evangelistæ vel Apostoli ; & tantum sensu explicato sæpe ordinem commutaverint ; nonnunquam vel detraxerint verba vel addiderint. Id. in

Ep. ad Galat. c. 3. Op. T. 4. p. 253.

[a] Qualia in Prophetis multa, apta non ad convincendos incredulos, sed ad confirmandos, qui credere. Grot. Vot. pro pace. p. 104.

[b] 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

perplexities into the system of the Christian religion, as all the wit of man has not been able to explain : which yet will all be easily solved, and vanish at once, by admitting onely the contrary notion, *that the Apostles were fallible* : which is a sort of proof that generally passes with men of sense for demonstrative ; being of the same kind, by which *Sir Isaac Newton* has convinced the world, of the truth of his philosophical principles.

For this great Philosopher, by considering the real effects and productions of nature, and applying the causes of those, which were within the reach of sense and experiment, to all other phænomena of a similar kind, more distant and remote from the same trial, arrived at last, by a chain of consequences, at the discovery of that universal principle, by which the beautiful order of this visible world is regulated, and all the particular motions and activities of it's constituent parts perpetually directed ; which in every other hypothesis, had been perplexed with insuperable difficulties. *Descartes* took the contrary method : he first conceived the Idea of his universal principle, and by the force of his great wit and comprehension, made it correspond so aptly with the principal phænomena of nature, that it was received with great applause by the learned. But when it came to be examined afterwards with rigor, and was found irreconcilable to fact and experience, it gradually lost ground, and is now generally rejected by men of Science.

The case is the same in Theological, as in natural inquiries : it is experience alone, and the observation of facts, which can illustrate the truth of principles. Facts are stubborn things, deriving their existence from nature, and tho' frequently misrepresented and disguised by art and false colors, yet cannot be totally changed, or made pliable to the Systems, which happen to be in fashion ; but, sooner or later, will always reduce the opinions of men, to a compliance and conformity with themselves.

Wherefore, as we learn from dayly experience that prejudice, passion, want of memory, knowledge or judgement naturally produce obscurity, inaccuracy and mistakes in all modern writings
whatsoever ;

whatsoever ; so when we see the same effects in antient writings, how sacred soever they may be deemed, we must necessarily impute them to the same causes. This is what sense and reason prescribe, and what will be found at last the onely way of solving all the difficulties above intimated : whereas our Theorists, who come provided with systems which they impose as the Catholic rule, by which the Christian doctrine must be explained, are driven to such miserable shifts and absurdities, in their attempts to accommodate that rule to the particular facts of the Gospel, that, instead of clearing it of it's difficulties, they never fail to obscure and perplex it still more, till they render it incompatible with any consistent and rational belief.



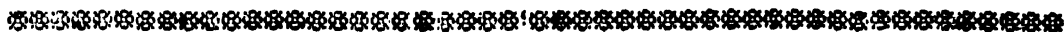
A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
G I F T of T O N G U E S.

T E N D I N G

To explane the proper notion and nature of it, as it is
described and delivered to us in the Sacred Scriptures.

A N D

As it appears also to have been understood by the Learned both of
the antient and modern times.



A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
G I F T of T O N G U E S.

THE gift of tongues, of which I am now going to treat, was first conferred by Christ on his Apostles, about ten days after his Ascension, in a public and solemn assembly of all the Disciples in *Jerusalem*, on the feast of *Pentecost*; as the account of it is delivered to us by *St. Luke*, in the following words.

Acts ii.

1. *And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place.*
2. *And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.*
3. *And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.*
4. *And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.*
5. *And there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.*
6. *Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language.*
7. *And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, behold, are not all these, who speak, Galilæans ?*

8. *And how bear we, every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born?*
9. *Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia,*
10. *Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Ægypt, and in the parts of Lybia, about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and Profelytes,*
11. *Cretes and Arabians; we do hear them speak in our tongues, the wonderful works of God.*
12. *And they were all amazed and were in doubt, saying one to another, what meaneth this?*
13. *Others mocking, said, these men are full of new wine.*

From this narrative of the original collation of this miraculous gift of tongues, we find it to have been transacted in the same manner, which God is said to have used on other occasions, whenever he thought fit to strike the minds of men with an awful sense of his immediate presence. That is, by some extraordinary noise, as *of a wind violently rushing*, and shaking the place, and the appearance also of fire or flame suddenly flashing, to the amazement of those, who beheld it. “The manner of exhibiting this gift, says Dr. *Lightfoot*, was in *tongues of fire*, that the giving of the Holy Ghost, at the initiating of the Christian Church, might answer the giving of the Law, at the initiating of the Jewish: and so it did, both in time and manner; that being given at *the feast of Pentecost*, and in an appearance of fire, and so likewise this.” But what is peculiar to the case before us, is, that this fire is said to have assumed the *shape of cloven tongues*, and to have sitten for some time in that form, on the heads of the Apostles. Hence we see, how the Painters, in all their descriptions of this story, have fixed upon the head of each Apostle, a *flame of fire*, split and divided into some resemblance of a cloven tongue. Yet that, which is mentioned in the text to have sitten upon each of them, is interpreted by some Critics, to relate, not, as it is commonly understood, to *the figure of a*
cloven

cloven tongue, which appeared like to fire, but to the Spirit itself, with which they were then inspired, and which accordingly sat, or resided upon them for some time [a]. And this indeed seems very probable : for tho' the passage itself may appear at the first sight to carry a different sense, yet by considering all it's circumstances, we cannot reasonably collect any thing more from it, than that a fire from heaven flashed suddenly into the room, and filled it with an extraordinary light, which, like all other Phænomena of that sort, no sooner appeared, than vanished. For when, upon the rumor of this miracle, all the several nations, who dwelt at *Jerusalem*, flocked in crouds to the place, to inform themselves of the truth of it; if the forms of *cloven tongues* had continued to sit on the heads of the Apostles, that would have been the first thing, which must have struck them with wonder and surprize : but it is evident from the text, that the multitude saw no appearance of that kind : for tho' they are said to have been greatly amazed, it was not, at what they saw, but what they heard; viz. *a number of illiterate men, born in the midst of Galilee, addressing themselves freely to each different nation, in it's own proper language.*

The same inference may be drawn also from the effect, which this miracle had upon the natives of *Jerusalem*; who, not understanding the strange languages, which the Apostles were severally speaking, imagined them presently to be drunk, and utter-

[a] And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire : and it sat upon each of them; v. 3. which is thus interpreted by an eminent Critic, *Laurentius Valla*, in his Comment on the place. " They are mistaken, says he, who take " the fire to have rested on the heads of " the Apostles, when it is spoken of *the* " Spirit, which sat upon them. Their " tongues also are said to have been cloven and fiery, as it were, to denote " that variety of languages, with which

" they were indued; not that any *fiery* " *tongues* really sat on their heads, as " some will have it. [Vid. eund. ad loc.] *St. Jerom* also seems to allude to the same interpretation : " They were baptized, " says he, so effectually by the Holy " Ghost, that the whole room was filled, " in which they were sitting, and the fire " of the Spirit found it's wished for residence in them, and divided them " tongues." Op. T. 4. par. 1. p. 178. Edit. Bened.

ing some senseless jargon of their own, which wine onely had inspired; a notion; which they could not easily have entertained, if they had seen this celestial fire sitting at the same time on their heads: since so conspicuous a prodigy must needs have suggested a different reflection, and obliged them to acknowledge the finger of God in it. We cannot however think it strange, that fire flashing from heaven, and suddenly vanishing, should yield some resemblance of *tongues* to the eyes of the multitude: for this is no more, than what is natural, and what we may observe, in some measure, from every flame, that flashes from the clouds; and breaks itself of course, into a number of small and pointed particles, not remote from that shape. Hence, in the *Hebrew* language, we find the *flame, or fire, that devoureth the stubble*, called by *Isaiab*, *the tongue of fire*. Where the Critics observe, *that a flame is so called by the Prophet, on the account of it's likeness to a tongue, both in it's color and shape; as being red, and tending towards a point* [a]. So that the *cloven tongues* in the text, are to be considered as a mere *Hebraism*, not properly translated, which signifies nothing more, than *a flame of fire burst into the room, whose broken and divided particles flashed over the heads of the Apostles, in the form, as it were, of fiery tongues* [b]. But from all the circumstances already mentioned, it seems reasonable to suppose, that the fire itself, as soon as it had illuminated the room, in such a manner, as to indicate something miraculous and supernatural in it, immediately vanished, as well as *the rushing wind*, with which it was accompanied.

As to the nature of the gift, which was conferred in this extraordinary manner, it was a faculty of speaking *new and strange languages*, infused instantaneously by God into the Apostles, in order to convince all those different nations, then residing in *Jerusalem*, that they were authorised and commissioned by a divine

[a] שֵׁן לִשָּׁה—Sicut stipulam devorat in locum.
lingua ignis. [Vulg. Isa. v. 24.] i. e. *Flamma*: quod ea linguæ speciem præ se fert: nam rubet, & in acutiem tendit. Vatab.

[b] Διαμερίζομεναι γλῶσσας ὡς ἐπὶ πυρός. Acts ii. 3. Vid. Heinsii Exercit. ad loc.

power, to preach the Gospel of *Jesus*. But tho' they were all equally indued with the same faculty, and are all said to have given proofs of it in this same assembly; we are not to imagine, that they all spoke together, or at the same time; for that could only create confusion: but that one or two of them perhaps addressed themselves by turns, to different parts of the company, and expounded to each in their own tongue, *the wonderful works of God*: according to that rule, prescribed afterwards by *St. Paul*, for the exercise of this very gift in all public assemblies, that those, who possessed it, *should speak singly, and in their proper course, one after another* [a].

St. Paul, who, as he himself tells us, was indued with this gift in it's fullest measure, and the best acquainted therefore with it's true value, ranks it in the lowest class of spiritual gifts; and as a thing of little or no worth; bestowed sometimes on persons, who do not seem to have understood the very languages, which they spoke, but wanted *an interpreter*, to explain their own words to them: and he censures that zeal, which the Christians of those days expressed for it, as a *childish affection*, which prompted them to prefer, what was strange, and surprizing, to what was useful and edifying [b].

But the principal end and proper use of this gift, was to serve, on some solemn occasions, as a *sensible proof and illustrious sign*, that a divine influence rested on those, who were indued with it. Thus our Saviour, when he gave the first promise of it to his disciples, says; *these signs shall accompany those, who believe — they shall speak with new tongues, &c.* [c]. And *St. Paul* declares, that *tongues were given for a sign, not to those, who believe, but to those, who believe not* [d]. Which sign, as soon as it had served

[a] 1 Cor. xiv. 27.

[b] He, that speaketh in a strange tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him.— Wherefore let him, who speaketh in a

strange tongue, pray, that he may interpret.—ibid. v. 2, 13, 14, &c.—it. c. xii. 10, 28.

[c] Mar. xvi. 17.

[d] 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

that particular purpose, for which it was given, seems to have ceased and totally vanished.

There are two or three other passages in the *Acts*, which have some relation to this, which I am now considering: for when the disciples in *Jerusalem* were assembled together with *Peter* and *John*, and praying earnestly to God, to grant them courage *to preach the word with boldness, and to perform signs and wonders in the name of Jesus*, we read; that their prayer was no sooner finished, *than the place was shaken, in which they were assembled*; as a divine signal, and sure token, that their prayer was accepted. Thus also when *Paul* and *Silas* were praying to God in prison, *there was suddenly a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken and it's doors opened, and every one's bands were loosed* [a]. We may learn likewise from the Old Testament, that it was usual with God, even under the Jewish dispensation, to employ these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, as *pledges or signs*, either to insure the performance of some promise, or to demonstrate the collation of some benefit.—Thus *Samuel*, when he anointed *Saul* to be King over *Israel*, informs him of *three signs*, which would be given to him, as a proof, that the Kingdom was destined to him by God: the third of which is, *that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon him, and he should prophesy, and be turned into another man*: and when these signs, says he, *shall come upon thee, then do, as occasion shall serve thee, for God is with thee* [b]. Thus also, when *Moses* chose *seventy Elders* out of the people, to assist him in the administration of the government, *God transferred his spirit from Moses unto those seventy, as a sign or*

[a] *Acts* iv. 31. xvi. 26.

Grotius here observes, that these extraordinary movements were given, as signs of God's powerful interposition, and of some great thing to follow. [Vid. eund ad Loc.] And *Wolfius* also remarks, how the Gentiles were possessed with the same notion, that the presence of God was usually signified by some vehement motion or concussion of

the air and earth. [Vid. Comm. ad loc.]

Constat *Aventinæ* tremuisse cacumina *Sylvæ*,
Terraque subsedit, pondere pressa *Jovis*

The earth shook, says the Psalmist, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God, even *Sinai* itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of *Israel*.

[b] 1 Sam. x. 2, 8.

token, both to them and to the people, that they were selected to this office by divine appointment: and it *came to pass, that while the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied and did not cease* [a]. Hence flow those expressions, which we often meet with in *St. Paul, of the seal, the earnest, the witness of the Spirit*, given in the hearts of the believers [b]; as a sure pledge of God's peculiar favor. For *as the seal of a ring, says Grotius, impressed on a bond, renders the whole firm and unquestionable, so the seal of God's spirit impressed on mens hearts, leaves no room to doubt of his paternal love of them* [c].

I find but two other passages in the New Testament, where we have any particular account of the collation of this *gift of tongues*; which, in both of them, appears to have been conferred for no other purpose, than what I have already intimated, to signify to the company then assembled, the immediate presence and interposition of the Deity. For example; in the first of them, we read, that when *St. Peter*, by the command of God, had instructed *Cornelius* and his family, in the grounds of the Christian faith, *the Holy Ghost fell upon all, who heard him, and they spake with tongues*. But of what service could a *variety of languages* possibly be, among a few persons of the same family and probably of the same tongue, unless it were, to give a fresh proof to *Peter*, by this effect of his ministry, how powerfully he was supported by the divine assistance; and to shew the Gentile profelytes, that they were now admitted to a participation of the same privileges with the Jews, and to convince the Jewish converts at the same time, who accompanied *Peter* from *Joppa*, of their errors and prejudices, with regard to their antient rites; and that these extraordinary favors of heaven, were no longer limited to the circumcised onely, or to the seed of *Abraham*, but were now laid open and imparted in common to all nations: for, as the text informs us, *they of the circumcision, who believed, were*

[a] Numb. xi. 25.

Rom. viii. 16.

[b] 2 Cor. i. 22. v. 5. Eph. i. 13, 14.

[c] Vid. Grot. in Ephes. i. 13.

astonished, as many as came with Peter, because, that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost, for they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God [a].

In the other passage, we are told, “ how *St. Paul* happened “ to meet with certain Disciples at *Ephesus*, who had not received any other baptism, but that of *John*, nor ever heard of “ any *Holy Ghost* ; whereupon he baptized them in the name of “ *Jesus* ; and having laid his hands upon them, *the Holy Ghost* “ came on them and they spake with tongues [b].” Now these were but twelve in number, all probably of the same country and language, as well as of the same faith : so that the gift of tongues could not be of any other benefit on this occasion, than to give a testimony to *St. Paul*, as well as to the men themselves, that the act, which they had been performing, was well pleasing to God.

St. Austin says, “ that when Christ, after his Ascension, sent “ down the Holy Spirit, which he had promised ; *the most eminent and necessary sign* of his actual descent upon the Disciples “ was, that every one of them should speak in the tongues of all nations [c].” *St. Chrysostom* also taking occasion to inquire into the meaning of *the kinds, or diversities of tongues*, which are mentioned so often by *St. Paul*, interprets it in the same manner and to the same sense. “ Antiently, says he, every one, who believed “ and was baptized, spoke presently with divers tongues, for the “ sake of manifesting the Spirit within him. For as the men of “ those days were infirm in the faith, and the spiritual gifts not “ discernible to the eyes of the flesh, so a sensible gift was bestowed upon them, that the spiritual might be made manifest : “ wherefore he, who was baptized, was enabled to speak, not “ onely in our tongue, but in that of *the Persians* ; in that of the “ *Indians* ; and in that of the *Scythians* ; to the intent, that the

[a] Acts x. 45, 46.

[b] Ibid. xix. 6.

[c] Cujus venientis in eos, qui crediderant, tunc signum erat maximum & maxi-

me necessarium, ut unusquisque eorum linguis omnium gentium loqueretur. De Civ. D. l. 18. c. 50.

“ unbelievers might learn, that he was indued with the Holy
“ Ghost. This was a *sensible sign*, as it was heard by their bo-
“ dily ears : and this *sensible sign* made the invisible grace of the
“ Spirit evident to all : and this *sign* was called, *the kinds of*
“ *tongues* [a].”

Hence the learned *Dodwell* declares, “ that the Holy Ghost
“ was generally bestowed on the new converts, at the time of
“ their baptism, by some visible and external sign, called the *ma-*
“ *nifestation of the Spirit* ; by which the unbelievers themselves were
“ assured beyond all doubt of the reality of the gift.” In the number
of which external signs, he reckons *a lambent flame*, and *the gift of*
tongues [b]. But according to Dr. *Lightfoot*, these spiritual gifts
or signs were not bestowed on all promiscuously, who were bap-
tized, but on a certain number onely, whom the Apostles were di-
rected by the Holy Ghost to lay their hands upon, and whom
God had appointed to be Preachers.

It is evident then, from the facts and testimonies already al-
leged, that the chief, or sole end rather of this *gift of tongues*,
was, to serve as a *sensible sign* in that infirm state of the first Chris-
tians, that those, to whom it was vouchsafed, were under a di-
vine influence, and acting by a divine commission. And this in-
deed may be collected from the account, recited above, of the
first communication of it to the Apostles. For in such an assem-
bly, as is there described, composed of several different nations,
it is not reasonable to think, that this *diversity of tongues* was
given to the Apostles, for the sake of converting those nations,
by the mere force of such discourses, as they were inabled to
make to each in their own tongue : for that would have required

[a] Vid. Chrysost. Oper. Tom. 3. p. 76.
Edit. Benediſt.

Iren. 2. p. 205.

[b] Spiritus ita baptizatis ut plurimum
collatus erat, ut externo aliquo signo se
manifestaret : quam Spiritus *φανερῶσι*, ap-
pellabant—ita ut de Spiritus dono ne quid
ipsi dubitare possint infideles. — Dissert. in

In hoc signorum numero, ignis lambens.
ib. p. 106.

Ad Spiritus *φανερῶσι* pertinuisse donum
illud linguarum, fidemque eo argumento
factam apud illos, qui non ante credidif-
sent. Ib. p. 110.

more time, than the nature of such a meeting could allow ; nor could any speeches of that sort, made successively to different parts of the company, in different languages, be proper to persuade the whole, but to confound rather and perplex them. For if we suppose the Apostles, to have made each a separate discourse ; to the *Parthians* for instance, in the *Parthian* ; to the *Ægyptians*, in the *Ægyptian* ; or to the *Romans*, in the *Latin* tongue ; it is certain, that the greatest part of the Assembly, who did not understand those languages, would remain all that while amazed, and unedified ; and this gift of tongues, if it had not been accompanied by some other power more persuasive and efficacious, would have exposed the possessors of it to ridicule onely and contempt ; agreeably to what *St. Paul* declares to the *Corinthians* ; *if the whole Church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those, who are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say, that ye are mad [a] ?*

Now all this is actually verified by the story before us ; in which we find, that, as long as the Apostles were displaying this miraculous faculty, the greatest part of the company, who heard them by turns, speaking in their own languages, were struck with amazement, to perceive a set of rude *Galilæans*, so learned and accomplished of a sudden, with all this variety of strange tongues ; and *they were all in doubt, and asked one another, what could be the meaning of it* : while the rest, who understood nothing of any of those tongues, took all, which the Apostles were uttering, for the mere effect of drunkenness ; till *Peter* observing, that their new gift had wrought it's proper effect, by imprinting a general persuasion of something very wonderful in it, and raising an impatience in the company to expect the event, rose up, and putting an end to all that diversity and dissonance of languages, began to explane to them, in an affecting and continued discourse, and in a tongue, which they all understood, how “ what they had just “ seen and heard, was not the effect of wine and drunkenness,

[a] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

“ but of the wise counsil and power of God, who had now fulfilled the antient prædictions of his holy Prophets, concerning the character of the Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom ; which were all verified by the death, the resurrection and the ascension of that same *Jesus*, whom they had crucified [a].”
By the power of which speech, he added about *three thousand souls* at once to the number of the faithful ; and exemplified the truth of what *St. Paul* has also testified, that it is better, *to speak five words in the Church with understanding, so as to instruct others by them, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue* [b].

This account of *the gift of tongues*, drawn from the clear testimonies of Scripture, plainly shews ; that it was not of a stable or permanent nature, but adapted to peculiar occasions, and then withdrawn again, as soon as it had served the particular purpose, for which it was bestowed. And hence we see the vanity of that notion, which is generally entertained about it, that from the first communication of it to the Apostles, it adhered to them constantly as long as they lived, so as to inable them to preach the Gospel to every nation, through which they travelled, in it's own proper tongue. A notion, for which I cannot find the least ground in any part of sacred writ, but many solid reasons to evince the contrary. Agreeably to which the learned *Salmasius*, speaking of this same miracle, says, “ we are not to infer from it, that the Apostles, by receiving the gift of tongues, received a faculty of speaking all the several languages, which are commonly used in the world. For it is not probable, that the effect of it continued beyond that very day, or any longer, than *the cloven tongues* appeared to sit upon their heads : when those vanished the miracle ceased, and left them destitute of every other language, but that of their native country : for he thinks it certain, that they were not acquainted with any other, except what they might afterwards imperfectly acquire

[a] A&t. ii. 14,— 41.

[b] 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

“ by natural means, as they found occasion for it [a].” This, tho’ it be but little understood, and will not perhaps be well relished by the present pretenders to orthodoxy, is certainly the most probable account of the matter ; which I shall now endeavour to illustrate, as briefly and clearly as I am able, through the remaining part of this Essay.

If the language, which the Apostles made use of in propagating the Gospel by preaching or writing, had been inspired into them by God, we should expect surely to find it such, as is worthy of God ; pure, clear, noble and affecting, even beyond the force of common speech. *What man, says Cicero, is more flowing in his diction than Plato ? Jupiter himself, the Philosophers say, if he speaks Greek, talks in the same manner [b].* As they had no idea of any thing more excellent, so they imagined, that God himself would use the *Platonic* stile ; since nothing can come from him, but what is the most perfect in it’s kind : and this indeed is the universal sense of mankind, and the sole rule, which nature has given us, to distinguish the genuin productions of the Deity.

But if we try the Apostolic language by this rule, we shall be so far from ascribing it to God, as to think it scarce worthy of man ; I mean, of the liberal and the polite : for we shall find it in fact to be utterly rude and barbarous, and abounding with every fault, which can possibly deform a language. “ If any one contends, says *Erasmus*, that the Apostles were inspired by God with the knowledge of all tongues, and that this gift was perpetual in them ; since every thing, which is performed by

[a] Nec dicendum est ex eo miraculo—donum linguarum ita accepisse Apostolos, ut deinceps omnia loquularum genera — caluerint & usurparint. Non enim verisimile est ultra illum diem durasse vim illam, quam Spiritus Sanctus iis efflavit, tantisper locum habituram, quamdiu linguæ igneæ supra caput cujusque insedissee dicuntur. — Pro vero sane tenendum est, omnes fere

Christi discipulos & Apostolos—non aliam novisse linguam præter vernaculam, &c. Vid. Cl. Salmas. de Hellenistica. p. 252, 253, 254.

[b] Quis uberior in dicendo Platone ? Jovem quidem, aiunt Philosophi, si Græce loquatur, sic loqui. Cic. in Brut. p. 219. Edit. Lambin.

“ a divine power, is more perfect, according to *St. Chrysoſtom*,
 “ than what is performed either in the ordinary courſe of nature,
 “ or by the pains of man, how comes it to paſs, that the lan-
 “ guage of the Apoſtles is not onely rough and unpoliſhed, but
 “ imperfect alſo and confuſed, and ſometimes even plainly ſolæ-
 “ ciſing or abſurd ? for we cannot poſſibly deny, what the fact
 “ itſelf declares to be true [a].”

It would be tedious, to enumerate all the particular imperfec-
 tions which are charged to the ſacred ſtile : whole books are
 written on the ſubject, and filled with the *barbariſms of the New*
Teſtament : and tho’ ſome writers alſo, on the other hand, prompt-
 ed by a falſe zeal, have attempted to defend the *purity of ſcrip-*
tural Greek, yet all, which they have been able to ſhew, is, that
 certain particular words and expreſſions, are uſed there in the
 ſame ſenſe and with the ſame propriety, with which they are em-
 ployed by the Clafſic writers : which is nothing more, than what
 is natural and neceſſary in all human compositions ; that many
 words, even of the moſt elegant kind, ſhould be uſed in common,
 both by the worſt and the beſt authors, who write in the ſame
 language. But it will be impoſſible to prove, that the order and
 conſtruction of thoſe words, and the general turn of the periods,
 which conſtitute, what we call the ſtile, is not truly barbarous
 and corrupt, and wholly remote from the eaſe and ſweetneſs of
 the Clafſical compositions. Tho’ “ the whole diction of the
 “ New Teſtament, ſays *Heinſius*, may juſtly be called *Hebraiſti-*
 “ *cal* ; yet we now and then meet with a Greek expreſſion, of
 “ which the beſt Greek writers would not be aſhamed [b].”

It is ſomewhat curious to obſerve, that there was a contro-
 verſy of the ſame kind among the antient Heathens, concerning
 the ſtile and compoſition of the *Delphic oracles*. For as thoſe
 Oracles were delivered in verſe, and the verſes generally rude and
 harſh, and offending frequently, both in the exactneſs of meter
 and propriety of language, ſo men of ſenſe eaſily ſaw, *that they*

[a] Vid. *Erasm. Annotat. in Act. x.* [b] *Exercitat. in Nov. Teſtament.*

could not be inspired by the Deity: others on the contrary, blinded by their prejudices, or urged by their zeal, to support the credit of the popular superstition, constantly maintained, that the verses were really beautifull, and noble, and worthy of God; and that the contrary opinion flowed from a false delicacy and sickly taste, which relished no poetry, but what was soft and sweet; and breathing nothing as it were but spices and perfumes. The dispute however seems to have been compounded, and a distinction found, in which all parties acquiesced, by allowing some *sort of inspiration, and divine authority to the matter of the Oracle*, but leaving all the rest, *to the proper talents and faculties of the Prophetess* [a]: who being tired at last, with the continual labor of versifying, began to utter her Oracles in prose, till the whole imposture fell by degrees into an universal contempt, and so finally expired [b].

We see the same prejudices still operating in the true, as they did of old in those false religions; and find many, who, not content with the allowed divinity of the Christian doctrine, must needs have the language also, in which it is delivered, acknowledged as divine. But as men of this turn, prepossessed with systems, and stiff in opinions, are apt to trust to any thing rather than their senses; and to be moved by authorities rather than by facts; I shall offer a few testimonies from some of the principal of the Antient Fathers, as well as of the modern Critics, to confirm the truth of what I am here asserting.

As for the Antients, whatever sort of inspiration they ascribed to the Apostles, they all allowed their language to have been intirely their own, and such, as we naturally expect from ignorant men, in the lowest state of life.

Justin Martyr tells us, “ that there went out of *Jerusalem*, to “ preach the Gospel to the world, twelve men onely, and those

[a] Vid. *Plutar. De Pythia. Oper. T.*

2. p. 396, &c. Edit. Par.

[b] Sed cur isto modo jam Oracula Del-

phis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jamdiu, jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius? *Cic. De Div. l. 2.*

“ wholly illiterate, and without any skill or knowledge of languages [a].”

“ The Apostles, says *Origen*, who were not ignorant, in what part they were infirm and deficient, declare themselves to be *Idiots in speech*, but not in knowledge [b].—For if the Scripture, says he, had been written with that elegance and politeness of stile, which was admired by the Greeks, it might have been suspected, that it’s success was not owing to the force of truth, but that men had been caught and charmed by the flowing ease and beauty of the language.”

Eusebius says, “ that the Apostles, tho’ perfectly pure in their lives, and adorned with every virtue, were yet *rude and barbarous* in speech, and trusting to the miraculous powers imparted to them by our Saviour, neither understood nor attempted to recommend the doctrines of their Master by any art or ornaments of language [c].”

St. Chrysostom, explaining the wonderful work of God, in converting the Gentile world, adds ; “ but by whom did he convert them ? by eleven men, illiterate, idiots, ineloquent, poor—without any force of words or rhetoric, or Science, to recommend them ; but Fishermen and Tent-makers, and of a strange language. For they did not speak the same tongue with those, whom they persuaded, but a foreign one, and different from all others, I mean the *Hebrew* [d].”

St. Jerom says, “ that they were indued with a power of working divers sorts of miracles, lest no body should otherwise believe a set of rustic, unlearned and ignorant men ; wanting every ornament of speech, to enforce their promises of the kingdom of heaven [e].”

[a] Apolog. 1. p. 59. Edit. Thirlb. Edit. Cantab.
1722.

[b] Comment. in Johan. p. 85, 86. Bened.

Edit. Huet. & Philocal. c. 4.

[d] Oper. Tom. 1. p. 575, 576. Edit.

Bened.

[e] Oper. Tom. 4. p. 35. Ed. Bened.

[c] Hist. Eccles. 1. 3. c. 24. p. 116.

St. Austin also observes, “ that Christ chose for his Apostles, “ men of mean birth, ignoble, ignorant and illiterate—and that “ the divinity of their doctrine displayed itself the more illustri- “ ously, in convincing the world by such contemptible witnes- “ ses ; whose eloquence and persuasive powers lay in their won- “ derfull works, not in their words [*a*].”

The modern Critics likewise and Interpreters generally affirm the same thing ; not merely upon the authority of those Antients, but from facts and instances, observed and collected by themselves from the Apostolic writings [*b*].

Erasmus tells us, “ that when the Apostles write in Greek, “ they borrow much from their own Hebrew ; as at this day, “ men of little learning, when they talk Latin, always mix some- “ what with it of their native tongue. For they did not learn “ their Greek from the orations of *Demosthenes*, but from their “ conversation with the vulgar, so it seemed good to the divine “ wisdom, to use no help of human eloquence, towards drawing “ the world into his religion : nor was *the gift of tongues designed* “ *to be perpetual* : it was sufficient, that it was bestowed, as oft “ as occasion required [*c*].”

Drusius and *Heinsius*, in their controversy with *Salmasius*, about the *Hellenistic Dialect* of the New Testament, declare it to be *barbarous and impure, consisting indeed of Greek words, but full of Syriaisms, and Hebraisms* [*d*]. *Salmasius* on the other hand, tho’ he allows no such dialect, as that, which they call *Hellenistic*, yet gives the same character of the stile of the sacred books, “ that it was a “ sort of Greek, compounded of various barbarisms ; of *Latinisms*, “ *Hebraisms*, *Syriaisms*, and *Macedonicisms* ; had many words in it, “ that were not Greek, many *Alexandrian* and *Latin*, more still

[*a*] Oper. Tom. 7. p. 659.

[*b*] Atque hanc de Apostolorum ser-
mone opinionem ipsa res nobis persuadet,
etiamsi non suffragaretur summorum viro-

rum auctoritas. *Erasm.* in Act. x. 38.

[*c*] *Erasm.* Ibid.

[*d*] Vid. *Funus Ling. Hellenist.* p. 11,
12.

“ merely barbarous, and numberless phrases from the Hebrew and the Syriac [a].”

These testimonies shew, what was the sense both of the antients and the moderns, concerning the general language of the New Testament ; I shall procede therefore to open briefly in the next place, what has been observed and declared also by them, concerning the particular stile and skill in languages of each single Apostle or writer of those sacred books.

St. Matthew is said to have published his Gospel the first of them, and in the *Hebrew tongue*, for the proper benefit of his countrymen [b]. But we may probably suppose, that the reason of his chusing to write in that language, was his ignorance, or imperfect knowledge of the Greek. For the Greek tongue being then the common language of *Asia*, and even of *Judæa* itself, while the *Hebrew* was confined in a manner to the walls of *Jerusalem*, an History, compiled in *Hebrew*, could be of no great service, in spreading the light of the Gospel, till it was translated into some other tongue of more general use. This therefore was the real case of this *Hebrew Gospel* ; which was scarce sooner published, than translated into Greek by an unknown hand, and the *Hebrew* copy thrown aside, and within a few ages after quite lost [c].

St. Mark, tho' distinguished by a *Roman* name, was yet a Jew ; and according to *Grotius*, was better acquainted with the *Hebrew*, than the *Greek*, in which he wrote, yet moderately skilled in them both, as his diction plainly shews [d].

[a] Vid. *Funus Ling. Hellenist.* p. 42. *N. B.* Those, who would see this point more fully treated, may consult *Father Simon's* Critical History of the New Testament, where he will find many more authorities collected on the same subject.

[b] Primus omnium Matthæus est Publicanus— qui Evangelium in Judæa Hebræo sermone edidit ; ob eorum vel max-

ime causam, qui in Jesum crediderant ex Judæis. Hieron. Op. T. 4. p. 3.

[c] Quod quis postea in Græcum translulerit, non satis certum est. Ibid. par. 2. p. 102.

[d] Judæum fuisse, & Ἑρατίζοντα magis quam ἑλληνίζοντα, quanquam sermonis utriusque mediocriter versatum, locutio evincit. Grot. in Marc. i.

St. Luke, was a Physician of *Antioch*, and having had on that account a more liberal education than the rest, is observed to have written with more elegance and propriety. But it is probable, that he understood little or nothing of the *Hebrew*; since he constantly draws his citations of the Old Testament from the *Septuagint Version*, which *St. Jerom* seems to ascribe to his want of skill in the *Hebrew* [a]. But this excuse, as *Erasmus* says, will hardly satisfy those who believe every thing, that belonged to the Apostles, to have been bestowed on them by the Holy Ghost, and especially the gift of tongues [b].

St. John, as both the antients and the moderns with one voice declare, was, of all the Apostles, the most barbarous in his language, and ignorant of letters. “Being the son of a Fisherman” and himself also of the same trade, he might learn the law “when a child, says *Grotius*, as it was the custom with the Jews, “but had no sort of tincture, either of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* “literature; and his *Greek* stile is plainly formed after the *Syriac* “idiom of that age [c].”

St. Paul, the most eloquent of all the Apostles, and, as he declares of himself, indued also with the gift of tongues more eminently than any man [d]: yet, as some of the Antient Fathers testify, was either wholly ignorant, or but very moderately skilled in the *Greek*.

St. Jerom, speaking of a certain person of distinguished learning, who affirmed him to have been wholly unacquainted with it, seems to

[a] Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteris Ecclesie tractatores, medicæ artis fuisse scientissimum, & magis Græcas litteras scisse quam Hebræas. Unde & sermo ejus—comptior est. Hieron. T. 3. p. 63, 64.

[b] Nam Lucam excusat Hieronymus, haud scio quam commode, quod magis calluerit Græcas litteras quam Hebraicas.--- Hanc excusationem non admittent, opinor, qui quicquid in Apostolis fuit, divini Spiritus peculiare donum esse volunt; præci-

pue donum linguarum. in Matth. xiii. 14.

[c] Johannes Bethsaidensis, Piscatoris filius, piscator & ipse, legem quidem discere potuit puer, ut mos erat Hebræis, ceterum nulla tinctus fuit aut Hebraica aut Græca litteratura—hinc fit, ut supra ceteros Apostolos magna sit in Johannis dictione simplicitas, & sermo Græcus quidem, sed plane adumbratus ex Syriaco illius seculi.—Grot. in Johan. c. i.

[d] 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

censure that opinion as *ridiculous*: yet he himself, on other occasions, does not scruple to pass the same judgement upon him. "I still approve, says he, what I have often said before, that "when *Paul* declares himself to be rude in speech, he does not "declare it out of any humility, but from the real sense and consciousness of his own mind. For being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, and most eloquent in his own tongue, he could not express the recondite senses of the Gospel in a foreign language." In other places he takes notice of the *solæcisms and blunders* which this Apostle was apt to make in the construction of his words and sentences; "and how he employed *Titus*, as *his interpreter of the Greek tongue*, to assist him in writing his epistles:" for which reason, we find him extremely grieved and not able to take any rest, while *Titus* was absent from him; but filled again with joy and comfort, tho' in the midst of tribulations, when he met with *Titus* again in *Macedonia*, whither he went to seek him; being the pipe and organ, as *Jerom* expresses it, through which he preached the Gospel and sung to Christ [a].

Hence in his Epistles, through a want of use and skill in writing Greek, it was his custom, to scratch out the last clause only, or salutation, in his own hand, as the mark of their being genuine: thus in the Epistle to the *Galatians*; see, says he, with what huge letters I have written this, with my own hand. Which we are not

[a] Vir apprimè nostris temporibus eruditus, miror quomodo rem ridiculam locutus sit.—*Paulus*, inquit, *Hebræus erat*, & *Græcas litteras nesciebat*.—*Hieron.* Tom. 4. par. 1, 315.

Illud quod crebro diximus, *Et si imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia*, nequaquam *Paulum* de humilitate, sed de conscientie veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus, &c. *ibid.* p. 204.

Iste igitur, qui *Solæcismos* in verbis facit, qui non potest hyperbaton reddere, sententiamque concludere, audacter sibi

vendicat sapientiam. *Ibid.* p. 348.

Hebræus igitur ex *Hebræis*, qui esset in vernaculo sermone doctissimus, profundos sensus aliena lingua exprimere non valebat. *Ib.* p. 309, 409

Habebat ergo *Titum* interpretem. — Ergo contristatur *Paulus*, quia prædicationis suæ in præsentiarum fistulam, organumque per quod Christo caneret, non invenerat: perrexitque in *Macedoniam*, ut ibi inveniret *Titum*, &c. *Ibid.* p. 183. See 2 Cor. ii. 13. vii. 5, 6.

to understand, according to *St. Jerom*, as if he had written *the whole Epistle* himself, but *that small part onely which follows* [a]; and which those antients seem to interpret, as if he had said; *see with what deformed and awkward letters, I have scrawled out this subscription, that from this attempt to do, what I am not able to execute without difficulty, you may collect the greatness of my zeal and love for you* [b].

In writing also to *the Romans*, he made use of *Tertius*, as his scribe, to draw up the Epistle for him: whom the learned take to be the same with that *Silas*, so frequently mentioned in the Acts, as his companion and attendant; who, writing here to the *Romans*, uses his *Latin* name, *Tertius*, of the same import and interpretation, with his *Hebrew* name, שליש [c]. But some are apt to inquire, why *St. Paul* in an Epistle to the *Romans*, should chuse to write in *Greek*, rather than in *Latin*: to whom *Grotius* gives this answer; “because both the Apostle and his Secretary, tho’ not perhaps wholly ignorant of the *Latin*, were yet better qualified, the one to dictate, and the other to write in *Greek* [d].” But whatever smattering either of them might possibly have of the *Latin*, it is certain, that they were both but slenderly acquainted with the *Greek*, as this very epistle demonstrates; which in the judgement both of the antients and the moderns, is strangely obscure and perplexed; abounding with *hyperbatons*; and employing the same words in various senses; and borrowing several of them from *the peculiar dialect of Cilicia* [e].

St.

[a] Et ne aliqua suppositæ Epistolæ suspicio nasceretur, ab hoc loco usque ad finem, manu sua ipse perscripsit, ostendens superiora ab alio exarata. Ibid. p. 314.

[b] Et quia necessitas expetebat, ut manu sua Epistolam subscriberet, contra consuetudinem curvos tramites litterarum, vix magnis apicibus exprimebat: etiam in hoc, suæ ad Galatas indicia caritatis ostendens, quod propter illos, id quoque, quod non

poterat, facere conaretur. Ibid. p. 315.

[c] Vid. Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*. p. 883. in Cor. i. 1.

[d] Credo id eo factum, quod & ipse & Scriba ejus, *Tertius*, nomine, quanquam fortasse Latini sermonis non prorsus ignari, Græcæ tamen rectius ille dictaret, hic scriberet. in Rom. i. 1.

[e] Queritur *Origenes*, hanc interpretans Epistolam, Græcam dictionem esse perplexam,

St. Peter also is said to have had his scribes, as well as *St. Paul*, and in particular, to have employed *Mark the Evangelist*, as his *Greek* interpreter ; and *St. Jerom* ascribes that difference of style, which is observed between his two epistles, to the different secretaries, whom he happened to use for each of them [a]. And this is supposed to have been the case of all the other Apostles : “ for being all “ of them, says *Salmasius*, *Galileans* and *Hebrews*, they had “ each their several companions and associates in the ministry of “ preaching the Gospel : who were partly *Grecians* born in *Syria*, “ and acquainted therefore with the *Syriac* ; and partly *Syrians*, who, by conversing with the *Grecians*, had acquired the use “ also of the *Greek* tongue. These they employed as interpreters, to translate into *Greek*, what they dictated to them in the “ *Hebrew* or *Syriac*.——This, adds he, is expressly declared of “ some ; not so well known of others, because not so declared ; “ but probable of them all, because certain of some of them.— “ Hence all those *Syriasms*, which are spread over the whole text “ of the New Testament, and bear the clear marks of a translation, made, as it were, word for word [b].”

I shall only add to these testimonies, a passage from *St. Chrysostom*, very apposite to the present purpose ; in which that Father tells us, “ how he once happened to hear a ridiculous dispute between a *Greek* and a *Christian*, on this very subject— “ the *Greek* maintained, that *Paul* was utterly illiterate ; the “ *Christian* on the other hand, was simple enough to affirm, “ that he was more eloquent even than *Plato*. By which they, “ each of them severally, hurt their own cause. For if *Paul* “ was really the more learned of the two, the wonder would “ presently cease, how he came to get the better of *Plato*, and to

plexam, & hyperbatis obscuratam, & e Cilicium idiomate quadam parum Græca peregrinitatem respere. *Eras.* in *Rom.* i. 7. *Vid.* *Origen.* *Comment.* p. 429. *Edit.* *Huet.* *It.* *Hieron.* *T.* 4. par. 1. p. 180.

[a] Denique & duæ Epistolæ, quæ feruntur *Petri*, stylo inter se & charactere

discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus. *Hier.* *ib.* p. 183.

[b] *Vid.* *Salmas.* *Comment.* de *Hellenist.* p. 256, 258.

“ draw all his followers to himself; since it would appear to be
 “ owing to the superiority of his talents, not to the divine grace :
 “ whereas if *Paul*, illiterate as he was, could vanquish the learn-
 “ ed *Plato*, such a victory was glorious, and the hand of God
 “ manifest in it. Wherefore he exhorts the Christians, whenever
 “ they heard any of the *Greeks* contemning the learning of the
 “ Apostles, to depreciate it still more, and instead of extolling
 “ the wisdom of *Paul*, to extoll rather all those, who were ad-
 “ mired among the Gentiles, for their learning and eloquence ;
 “ and to declare their own Apostles at the same time, to be *bar-*
 “ *barous and unlearned* ; for that was the onely way, to confound
 “ their adversaries in the end, and gain a noble victory over
 “ them [a].”

These facts and authorities manifestly prove, that the gift of tongues, was not of a lasting or perpetual kind, but given onely on certain important occasions, as an *illustrious sign*, to those first preachers of the Gospel, that a divine power continued to accompany them, and crowned their labors with success ; and when this particular end was served, the gift itself was presently withdrawn. The same facts also demonstrate, that the languages, which the Apostles and Evangelists afterwards used, as well in their several writings, as in preaching the Gospel to foreign nations, were not the fruit of this gift, or of divine inspiration, but merely such, as they had been taught to speak from their birth, or had acquired by practice and conversation with those, among whom they resided : and that we may say with great truth of every one of them, what was said in particular of *St. Peter*, *Thou art surely a Galilæan, for thy speech betrayeth thee* [b].

Since the Apostles then cannot be supposed to have received their language from heaven ; it will be asked perhaps, by what human means they could acquire that knowledge of the *Greek*, of which they appear to have been possessed. But this will admit a very easy solution, if we recollect, what all the learned al-

[a] Vid. Chrysost. Op. T. 3. p. 76.

[b] Matt. xxvi. 73.

low, that the *Greek* language prevailed and flourished in common use, through the greatest part of the eastern world. *The Latin tongue is confined indeed within narrow bounds, says Cicero, but the Greek is read almost by all nations* [a]. Hence flowed that custom, so common with the sacred writers, of dividing all mankind into *Jews* and *Greeks* [b]. But what is most to our purpose; we find the *Greek* tongue to have been generally current also in *Judæa* and in the City of *Jerusalem* itself; in which there seem to have been several *Greek Synagogues* [c]. The province of *Galilee* also was divided between the *Jews* and the *Greeks*; and *Capernaum* the Metropolis was in the *Grecian* division [d]. The city of *Gadara* too, where *Jesus* sent the *Legion of Devils into the Swine*, and *Cana* likewise, where he wrought his first miracle, were under the same jurisdiction [e].

Now it was in these very parts, where our Saviour principally resided, and gathered all his Apostles: two of whom have *Grecian* names, *Philip* and *Andrew*, and a third, two different names, *Thomas* and *Didymus*, the one *Hebrew*, the other *Greek*; by the first of which he was called among the *Jews*, by the second, among the *Gentiles* [f]. It is certain also, that in *Jerusalem*, a great number of the first converts were *Greeks*: inasmuch that the Apostles found it necessary, to select *seven of the most eminent Disciples*, to be set apart for the particular business of providing for the maintenance of the *Grecian widows*. *And they chose Stephen, a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch* [g]. Where it is remarkable, that all the seven have *Grecian* names, and were consequently of *Grecian*

[a] Orat. pr. Archia.

[b] Acts xiv. 1. xviii. 4. xix. 10, &c.

[c] Acts vi. 9. Vid. Lightfoot, p. 929.

[d] *Galilæa Gentium* — in qua est *Capernaum* *Galilææ Metropolis*. Zeger. in Johan. iv. 43, 44.

[e] Est enim *Cana*, in *Galilæa gentium*,

oppidum, quod *Hieronymus* in *Hebraicis locis* testatur ætate sua adhuc extitisse. Erasmi. in Joh. ii. 1. De *Gadara*. Vid. Sculteti Exercitat. Evangel. c. 49.

[f] John xi. 11

[g] Acts vi. 5

families : and as the last of them is particularly distinguished by the character of a *profelyte of Antioch*, so it is probable, that the rest were natives of *Jerusalem* : to whom we may add *Nicodemus*, a person of senatorian rank, and a member of the great *Sanhedrim*, yet, as we may collect from his name, of *Greek* extraction also [*a*]. From all which we see the reason, of what the learned Dr. *Lightfoot* declares, “ that the *Greek* language was “ in such use and honor with the Jewish nation, that it was pre- “ ferred to all others, and held by the Doctors themselves, in “ the same rank with their native tongue [*b*].”

To conclude then : it is reasonable to imagine, that the Apostles, who were born and bred, and spent their whole lives among those, who *spoke Greek*, might acquire a moderate knowledge of that tongue, even from their childhood. For this is natural and common to the most illiterate, to catch some imperfect use of a foreign language, which they hear constantly spoken by all around them. But if we suppose them, to have made but little or no acquaintance with it, in their younger years, it is probable, that the necessities of their Apostolic function, and the task of preaching the Gospel, might induce them to apply themselves to the acquisition of it, even in their advanced life. This I find to have been the opinion of *Erasmus*, who says ; “ it “ is not strange, that when *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the “ lesser *Asia* talked *Greek*, the Apostles should acquire the know- “ ledge of it without a miracle, when they lived so many years “ among those who spoke it. Nor were the Gospels presently “ written by them. A stranger, who lives in *France*, will learn “ to speak *French* in a year’s time, tho’ he knew nothing of it “ before : and can we wonder then, that the Apostles, in so “ many years, should gain a moderate skill in the *Greek* [*c*].

Salmasius also was of the same opinion, that the greatest part of the Apostles learnt the *Greek* tongue but very late ; and not

[*a*] John iii. 2.

253. It. Chron. Tempor. p. 110.

[*b*] Lightf. Hor. Hebr. in Matt. i. p.

[*c*] *Eras* in Acts x. 38.

till they were commanded to preach the Gospel to all nations [a]. *Grotius* likewise declares in particular of *St. John*, “ that he had
“ no tincture either of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* litterature, but might
“ perhaps have gained some share of each, when he was old, in
“ *Asia*, where he spent the greatest part of his days to an extreme
“ age; partly in the *Isle of Patmos*, to which he was banished,
“ and partly at *Ephesus*, both before and after his banishment, as
“ all the antients testify.”

This opinion therefore of those great and learned men, that the *Apostles* acquired their *Greek* knowledge chiefly in their later years, seems on the whole, to be the most probable, and most agreeable also, to what the antient writers have delivered concerning them. There were but two of the whole number, who wrote any Gospels, *Matthew* and *John*: of whom *Matthew*, as it is said above, wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, as having but little or no knowledge of the *Greek*; and *John* did not write his *Greek* Gospel, till he was extremely old, and had lived many years in *Asia*. The other two Evangelists, *Mark* and *Luke*, are declared by all, to have been the companions and interpreters of the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*; and were not therefore, so properly the authors, as the Scribes onely of those Gospels, which pass under their names [b].

[a] Grot. in John i. 1.

[b] Μάρκος ὁ μαθητής καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδίδωκε. Καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βελίῳ κατέθετο. *Iren. Adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 1.*

We are told also by some of the Antients, that when *St. Paul*, in his Epistles, speaks of *my Gospel* and *our Gospel*, [2 Tim. ii. 8. 2 Thess. ii. 14.] He means the Gospel of his Secretary and Interpreter, *St. Luke*. God bearing them witness with signs and wonders, according to his own will. *Heb.*

ii. 4.

Offenditur Galatas—dona habuisse virtutum—& tamen post tanta (quia forsitan gratiam discernendorum Spirituum non habebant) a falsis Doctōribus irretiti sunt. Observandum etiam quod operari virtutes dicantur in his, qui non tenent Evangelii veritatem, &c. *Hier. in Galat. c. 3. Op. T. 4.*

Semel duntaxat legimus Apostolos novis linguis loquentes — quanquam vero propius est Apostolos id temporis unica lingua fuisse locutos, ac virtute divina factum, ut ab omnibus æque intelligerentur. *Erasmi in Act. x. 38.*



SOME SHORT
REMARKS
ON A
STORY told by the ANTIENTS,
CONCERNING
ST. *JOHN* the EVANGELIST,
AND
CERINTHUS the HERETIC;
AND
On the use, which is made of it by the Moderns, to
enforce the Duty of shunning Heretics.



SOME SHORT REMARKS

ON A

STORY told by the ANTIENTS, &c.

THE story, which I am going to examine, is told by *Irenæus* in the following manner ; “ that there were some, “ who had heard *Polycarp* relate, how *St. John*, the “ disciple of our Lord, going one day to the public bath in “ *Ephesus*, and finding the Heretic *Cerintbus* in it, started back “ instantly without bathing, crying out ; let us run away, lest “ the bath should fall upon us, while *Cerintbus*, the enemy of “ truth, is in it [a].”

This story is applied by *Dr. Berriman*, in one of his Sermons, to enforce the duty of *shunning Infidels and Heretics* : and by *Dr. Waterland*, to recommend a practice, which he warmly presses upon all Christians, of rejecting from their society and communion, *all the impugnors of fundamentals* [b] : And it is sure to be thrown in our way, either from the pulpit or the press, by all angry Divines, as oft as they find occasion, to inflame the people against an Antagonist, whom, through zeal or heat of controversy, they are disposed to treat as an adversary to the Christian faith,

[a] Καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ, ὅτι
Ἰωάννης, &c. Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Doctr. of the Trin. p. 105, 127. it. *Berrim.*
On shunning Heret. p. 352.

[b] See *Dr. Waterl.* Import. of the

Since this story then, as it is commonly applied, naturally tends, to excite prejudices, and uncharitable aversions in the minds of men, and is considered generally by zealots, as an Apostolic rule and precedent, for the exercise of all kinds of rudeness towards those, who differ from them in matters of religion, I cannot but think it of use to the public quiet, to inquire into the real state of it, and not to suffer it to have any other credit or influence, than what is strictly due to it : for in that great uncharitableness, which reigns among all the Sects of Christians in these days, there is no occasion to ransack antiquity, for any additional motives of strife and mutual hatred.— I shall consider therefore,

1st, What objections may reasonably be offered to the truth of it, as well from the nature of the evidence, as the matter of the story itself.

2dly, Shall shew, that tho' we allow it to be true, it cannot justify the use, to which the Doctors abovementioned, and many others have applied it.

1. As to the evidence of the story, it rests on the single testimony of *Irenæus*, and that given to us, at second hand onely, or from hearsay : for he does not say, that he received it himself from *Polycarp*, tho' when young he had seen and conversed with him, but that *some of Polycarp's disciples* had heard him relate it ; of which number there were many, who had conversed with him more familiarly, and frequently than *Irenæus*. Since he received it then from certain persons unknown, who received it from *Polycarp*, who received it from *St. John*, there is room enough to suppose, that he might possibly be deceived in it : which considering the character of the man, and of the age, wherein he lived, can hardly be thought an unreasonable supposition.

But if we should allow, what many are apt to infer from this passage, that *Irenæus* meant here to signify that it was he himself, who heard the story from *Polycarp* ; we are then to consider, what degree of credit may be due to his testimony. But this I have already considered at large in a former treatise : in which

I have shewn, that tho' of all the Fathers, whose works now remain to us, he was the most diligent collector of *Apostolic traditions*, and had gathered them, as he affirms, *from the mouths of antient men, who had conversed with the Apostles themselves*; yet in every single instance of them, which he has particularly recorded, and peremptorily attested, he was either deluded himself, or has willfully deluded others, by a false and forged pretence of Apostolic authority. Among many examples, which I have there produced in the support of this charge, the following one will sufficiently teach us, how far we may depend upon his fidelity.

There were certain Heretics in those days, with whom *Irenæus* was disputing, who allowed but *one and thirty years* to our Saviour's life, and the *last of them alone* to his ministry: in contradiction to whom, *Irenæus* roundly affirms, *that our Saviour actually lived to an old age, and was fifty years old at least at the time of his death*: for which he alledges *the unanimous testimony of all the old men, who had lived with St. John in Asia, and received this account from him*; some of whom, he says, *had seen the other Apostles also, and heard the same from them all, and bore witness accordingly to the truth of it* [a]. Now it is not possible, that any tradition can be more authentically delivered than this, by one of the most venerable Bishops of the primitive Church, who lived within a few years after the Apostles themselves; yet it is certain, as the warmest admirers of antiquity in general, and of *Irenæus* in particular, must own, that neither *St. John*, nor any other of the Apostles, could ever declare such a story to any one; and that the whole therefore must be a mere fiction, either of those antient men, who had conversed with the Apostles, or of *Irenæus* himself, who pretended to have heard it from them, as being utterly inconsistent with the history of the Gospel.

[a] Iren. l. 2. c. 39. Quidam autem sis audierunt & testantur de hujusmodi re-
corum non solum Joannem, sed & alios latione.
Apostolos viderunt, & hæc eadem ab ip-

REMARKS *on the Story*

But the Gospel was then onely in a few hands ; and *Apostolic tradition* the shortest way of silencing those Heretics ; being an argument of the greatest weight with those, who believed it, and what could not easily be confuted by those, who did not. The pious Editor of *Irenæus's* works makes the following remark upon the place ; “ *Irenæus*, says he, affirms in express words, that “ Christ continued to teach beyond *the fortieth*, or even *the fiftieth* “ *year of his age* ; which he endeavours to confirm by texts of “ Scripture, and by reasons also, tho’ weak ones, which the “ common judgement of the Church has rejected. We ought “ however to judge candidly of the blessed Martyr, who, *by an* “ *impetus of confuting the Heretics*, was carried into the contrary “ extreme : a case, which, as it is manifest, has frequently hap- “ pened to the most holy and learned men [1].” But since *Irenæus's* whole life and writings were peculiarly devoted to the confutation of Heresy, what is it, that the most candid can possibly judge on this occasion, but that the same *impetus of confuting them*, which carried him beyond the truth in one case, would carry him the same length in another, and prompt him to use every argument, which could promote so good a cause ?

This suspicion will be confirmed, not onely by the conduct of *Irenæus* in other similar cases, but by the matter of the story itself, which on many accounts seems to imply a behaviour unworthy of the character of an *Apostle* ; to whose dignity it would have been more agreeable, instead of running out of the Bath himself, to have driven *Cerintus* out before him. *Resist the Devil and he will flee*, is an injunction given to every private Christian : and it is much more the part of an *Apostle*, to resist and disarm an Heretic ; whereas so precipitate a flight betrays fear and diffidence, and gives an occasion of triumph to the Adversary.

The reason also, said to be given by him for his flight, is childish and superstitious : *lest the bath should fall, because Cerintus*

[a] Disertis verbis affirmat Christum ultra quadragesimum, aut etiam quinquage-

simum annum docuisse, &c. Vid. Fevar-
dent. Not. 4. in Iren. ibid.

was in it. As if it had been usual with God, to exert his judgments in that manner on notorious sinners, by burying them under the ruins of walls and houses: a notion, which seems to be expressly discouraged and exploded by Christ himself [a]. Or if there was any cause to apprehend, that God would take so extraordinary a method of punishing the Heretic, there was a greater still, to be assured, that he would provide at the same time, in some way as extraordinary, for the safety of the Apostle: it being weak to imagine, that when he had spared the life of so profligate an enemy to that day, he should be in such haste at last to destroy him, as to involve his old and faithful servant in the same ruin.

The conduct of the other Apostles towards the profess'd adversaries of the Gospel was quite contrary to this of *St. John*, as we find it described in the History of their Acts; where we read how *Peter* rebuked and confounded the Prince and Leader of all Heretics, *Simon Magus*, who had bewitched the people of *Samaria*, by his Sorceries, and was revered by them as a Deity. And if any credit be due to Ecclesiastical History, we are there told, that when the same *Simon* was playing his magical tricks again in *Rome*, in defiance and opposition to the Gospel, and, by the help of his familiar Demons, was flying briskly in the air, *St. Peter*, by the force of his prayers, brought him down from the sky, with so precipitate a tumble, that he was dashed to pieces by the fall, in the sight of all the people. Thus, when *St. Paul* likewise was opposed and obstructed in preaching the Gospel, by another Sorcerer and false Prophet, called *Elymas*, he first reproached him sharply for his Diabolical practices, and then, *in the name of the Lord, struck him instantly blind.* And this is the conduct, which one would have expected from an Apostle, upon an encounter with *Cerintus*, the chief Heretic and adversary of the Gospel then living, that he would either have confuted and put him to shame by the force of his reasoning, or confounded

[a] Luke xiii. 1.

him by some act of that extraordinary power, with which he was indued from above.

But *St. John*, as *Dr. Waterland* declares, *was all love, meekness, and charity* [a]: and this indeed is said to have been his peculiar character, above that of the other Apostles. And we are told of him by *St. Jerom*, “that in his extreme age, when he used to be “carried to the Church by his disciples, it was his custom, to “do nothing more, than repeat this single exhortation; *my little “children, love one another*: and when the people grew tired with “hearing nothing else from him but that one precept, and asked, “why he continued always to repeat the same thing; he answered; *it is a saying worthy of John, and a precept of our “Lord, and if you practise this alone, it is sufficient* [b].” The same doctrine, of love, charity, and mutual benevolence, was eminently propagated also by his two principal Scholars, *Ignatius, and Polycarp*: *what thanks are due to you*, says *Ignatius*, *if you love onely the good disciples? you must subdue rather the more pestilent sort, by your mildness and gentleness* [c]. And *Polycarp* speaking of one, who had fallen away from the faith, says; *be moderate on this occasion, and look not on such as enemies, but call them back, as suffering and erring members* [d].

How much more amiable then, and agreeably to his proper character, is this same Apostle represented in another story, delivered also by the antients, concerning his painfull and affectionate pursuit, of the *Captain of a band of robbers*; whom he followed into the mountains, and by his affectionate and paternal remonstrances, brought back from the head of his crew, and restored to the Church [e]? yet from this charitable and benevolent act, *Dr. Waterland* has contrived to draw a most perverse and pernicious inference, *that by flying from the Heretic and run-*

[a] See Import. of the Doctr. of the Trin. p. 152.

[b] Nihil aliud per singulas solebat proferre collectas, nisi hoc, *Filioli diligite alterutrum*, &c. Hieron. Op. T. 4. p. 314.

[c] Vid. Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. §. 11.

[d] Vid. Polycarp. Ep. ad Philip. §. 11.

[e] Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 23.

ning after the robber, he shewed, how much more he detested Heresies, than common immoralities [a].

It is observable likewise, that this story is related with no small variation by the Antients themselves. *Epiphanus* tells it more than once, not of *Cerintus*, but of another Hæretic, called *Ebion*: and why might not both of them, says the Editor of *Irenæus*, be found together in the bath at the same time? *Baronius* makes the same supposition, to reconcile the two Fathers; while others suppose, that *Cerintus* and *Ebion* are but different names of the same person [b]: Yet *Tertullian* expressly distinguishes them, and calls *Ebion* the Successor of *Cerintus* [c]. But *Mr. Tillemont* solves the matter more judiciously by remarking, that there is no need of such conjectures, because it is common with *Epiphanius* to make blunders in history; who has added, he says, several other particulars, both trifling and improbable, to this very story. One of the particulars, which he has added, is this; that *St. John* had never before made use of the public baths, till he was sent thither on this occasion by a divine inspiration, to give this open testimony of his detestation of Heresy. Some of the other Fathers as well as *Epiphanius*, declare *Cerintus* to have been the disciple of *Carpo-*
crates, who was not in being, as the Chronologers tell us, till after the death of *St. John*; and if so, this whole story must of course fall to the ground.

The Moderns also, in their turn, have added some embellishments to the same story. *Fevardentius* in his notes on this passage of *Irenæus*, says, that *St. Jerom*, in his treatise against the *Luciferians*, affirms, that immediately after the retreat of *St. John*, the bath actually fell down and crushed *Cerintus* to death. Yet there is not the least intimation of any such fact, as *Dr. Grabe* observes, either in that, or any other part of *St. Jerom's* works [d]. Another writer with as little truth, asserts the same thing, on the authority of venerable *Bede*; and some also appeal to *Poly carp*,

[a] See *Waterl.* *ibid.* p. 152.

[c] Vid. *Oper.* p. 252. B.

[b] Vid. *Fevardent.* *Not.* 2. In *Iren.*
ibid. & *Baron.* ad *Ann.* 74.

[d] Vid. *Iren.* *Oper.* Edit. *Oxon.* p.
204. *Not.* 2.

as the voucher of it; and all of them take occasion, to moralize upon it with great gravity, as an instance of God's judgements upon Hæretics [a].

From these remarks upon the story, I shall procede to the lesson, which is drawn from it by the two Doctors above mentioned, and shew,

2dly, That, tho' we allow the fact to be true, it will not justify the use, to which they have applied it.

Now the constant use, which is made of this story, is to demonstrate the duty of *shunning and affronting Hæretics; of denying them the common offices of civility; treating them as persons excommunicated, and detestable in the eyes of God and man*: and this pressed upon all Christians by the authority and example of *St. John* [b].

But I would ask, whether a behaviour of this sort be agreeable to the ordinary temper and spirit of the Gospel, or of that *Jesus*, who came into the world, as a *Physician to the sick*; and in that character, sought out *the Publican*, and *the Sinner*, for the opportunity of healing them; and preferred the *Hæretical Sad-*

[a] *Monfr. Bayle*, who mentions this story with all these particulars, makes the following remark upon it. "Observe," says he, the progress of it. *Irenæus* was probably the first who published it, and contented himself with relating barely, what he had heard. But those, who came after him, finding his narrative too simple and naked, added some embroidery to it. They fancied it dishonorable to the memory of the Apostle, to have it believed, that he had ever made use of the public baths: they affirmed therefore, that he had never done it before, and was sent thither on this occasion, by the express command of heaven. It was necessary in the next place, to find out a good

"reason for so particular an inspiration:
"and a reason was presently found; viz.
"the importance of letting the faithful
"know, what an horror they all ought to
"conceive against the enemies of the
"truth; and how the divine justice was
"always ready to exert itself by some ex-
"emplary severity against an Arch-Heretic.
"Lastly, as it might seem indecent,
"for *St. John* to be thought liable to any
"vain and unnecessary fear, so it was
"found convenient to suppose, that the
"Heretic, with whom he refused to bath
"himself, was crushed to pieces by the
"fall of the house." Vid. Artic. Cerinthus Not. D. in Dictionaire.

[b] See Import. of the Doctr. of the Trin. c. 4. p. 122, &c.

ducee, and the Schismatical Samaritan, to the fierce Zealot, and the Orthodox Pharisee? No, it is so far from being conformable to the ordinary rules of Christian duty, that it was copied, as Dr. Berriman himself owns, from the Jewish institutes [a]: as if it flowed from that principle, by which this same Apostle, while yet raw and unacquainted with the benevolent temper of his new religion, was calling down fire from heaven on the Samaritans, after the example of Elias, and was reproved accordingly by our Lord, for not knowing what manner of spirit he was of [b].

If I should ask these Gentlemen also, what it is, that they mean by the word *Hæretic*; we should find in the end, that they meant nothing more by it, than one, who differed from them in any article of religion, which they held to be important. *Dr. Waterland* calls him, an *open Impugner of fundamentals*, and labours to prove, that we ought not to hold communion with any of that character [c]. And should we ask once more, *what are these fundamentals?* he would refer us without doubt in the first place to *the doctrine of the Trinity*: whence I have drawn the testimonies above ascribed to him. *The importance of which* makes the subject of that very book; and this doctrine indeed is held so fundamental by the Papists, that the disbelief of it, tho' but secretly entertained by a Priest, is declared to annul the whole efficacy of his ministry, and of the Sacraments themselves, not onely to himself, but to all others, how innocent soever, to whom he should happen to administer them. But among Protestants, the distinction of fundamentals, has been constantly applied to those doctrines alone, which are clearly and precisely delivered in the holy Scriptures: and how far this character will suit with the doctrine of the Trinity, I leave to others to determine: yet this I think, we need not scruple to say, that it is no where expressly declared by any of the earliest Fathers; and as the most learned among the Papists assert, was never affirmed or taught by the Church, before the Council of *Nice* [d].

[a] Sermon. Vol. 2. p. 351.

[b] Luke ix. 55.

[c] Import. &c. c. 4.

[d] See Chillingw. Pref. §. 18, 33.

Irenæus, speaking of the Mosaic distinction of animals into *clean and unclean*, says ; “ the law foretold all these things figuratively, by animals denoting men : those which divide the hoof and chew the cud, it pronounces clean : those, which do neither, unclean. Who then are clean ? those, who go on firmly, believing in *the Father and in the Son*. For this is the firmness of those, who have the double hoof [a].” Hence we see, that the fundamental doctrine, or the firmness of the Christian faith, in this early age was, to believe in *the Father and in the Son*. In the ages next following, many different opinions successively prevailed, and were held orthodox in their turns : but as soon as the *Arian* controversy began to disturb the peace of the Church, *Constantine the Great* wrote a letter, in common to *Arius* and *Alexander Bishop of Alexandria*, the opposite chiefs in the dispute, in which he treats the whole question, “ as vain, foolish and impertinent ; as a dispute of words without sense, which none could explain, nor any comprehend ; as the fruit of idleness and leisure misemployed, which no way affected the sum of religion ; and that to quarrel about such trifles and subtleties, was childish, and below the gravity of Priests ; wherefore he earnestly exhorts them to put an end to so silly a contest, productive of nothing but quarrels and blasphemies among the people ; and to return to their former friendship and communion with each other.”

This letter was sent by *Hosius*, a learned and venerable Bishop ; chiefly intrusted by the Emperor in the affairs of the Church ; and is commended both by *Eusebius* and *Socrates*, as *excellent, admirable, and full of wisdom* [b]. Which shews, what was the opinion both of the Church and the State, with regard to this question, or *parting point*, as *Dr. Waterland* calls it, before the Council of *Nice*.

[a] Iren 1. 5. c. 8.

64. &c. it. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. 1. 1. c. 7.

[b] Vid. Euseb. Vit. Constant. 1. 2. c.

But to return to our story of *St. John and Cerinthus*. If we allow it to be true, the conduct of *St. John* cannot be considered in any other light, than as an extraordinary case, or the effect of that divine power, which was peculiar to the Apostles, and ceased with the Apostolic age; by which they were enabled to penetrate the hearts of men, and discern the secret motives, that actuated those early corruptors of the Christian faith. *Epiphanius*, as I have already intimated, declares it to have been suggested by a special inspiration. It is absurd therefore, to propose an act, directed by an extraordinary commission from heaven, as a rule of proceeding in ordinary cases: and it would make wild work among us, for weak and fallible men to revive and exercise a discipline, which was grounded on infallibility; and to pretend to judge, with an Apostolic authority, of the hearts and spirits of their fellow Christians, without the Apostolic gift of discerning those spirits; yet this is one of the principal points, which is pressed by *Dr. Waterland*, through his whole treatise on *the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*.

The same Doctor however, on a different occasion, where he is vindicating the morality of certain acts, related of the antient Prophets and other pious men in the Old Testament, declares, “ that such facts of an extraordinary kind, which were the immediate effects of a divine impulse, are not recorded as examples of common practice, nor to be warranted in common men, unless specially authorised in the same manner, as those Prophets were.” The case is the same with regard to the Apostles: the severe censures, which they sometimes passed on Heretics, and other wicked men, being the suggestions of a divine spirit, ought not to be drawn into precedent, but by the direction of the same spirit: for otherwise, the peace of the Church would necessarily be disturbed by perpetual schisms and quarrels, and it’s best members, through the clamor and rage of a few zealots, often treated as the worst. Every man’s experience will furnish instances, of the wretched fruits of this zeal, in the bigotted, vicious and ignorant part, both of the Clergy, and the Layety ;

who puffed with the pride of an imaginary orthodoxy, and detesting all free inquiry, as dangerous to their ease, and sure to expose their ignorance, take pleasure in defaming and insulting men of learning, candor and probity, who happen to be touched with any scruples, or charged with any opinions, which they think fit to call Hæretical.

The very learned and pious Bishop *Taylor*, speaking of this very story, says; *it is a good precedent for us, when the case is equal. St. John could discern the spirit of Cerinthus; and his hæresy was notorious, fundamental, and highly criminal; and the Apostle, a person assisted up to infallibility.* It is this character then of Infallibility, which alone can warrant us in copying the pretended act of the Apostle; for unless we be possessed of this, the case can never be equal: and the sole inference, which we can reasonably draw in the mean time, from *St. John's* behaviour towards *Cerinthus*, as well as towards the Thief, above mentioned, is; that by his power of discerning spirits, he knew the Hæretic to be a profligate and determined enemy of the Christian faith; and the Thief, to be a good natured youth, who through the giddiness of his age, and the contagion of bad company, had been drawn inconsiderately into a rash and desperate frolic. But to propose this case, as a test or standing proof of the *superior iniquity of Hæresy, above the grossest immorality*; of it's being more abominable than robbery, or in some cases, as we are told [a], than even *felony or treason*, is certainly dangerous to society; tending to turn men's heads with fanaticism; and to introduce violent and sanguinary proceedings in the affair of religious differences.

For what else is it, that has given birth to all those murders and massacres, which Hæretics have so often suffered in all those countries, where this doctrine has ever prevailed, and to which they stand exposed at this day, wherever it still prevails? the effect is natural and unavoidable: for if robbery and treason be crimes so intolerable to society, that it is necessary to punish them

[a] Import. of the Doctr. of the Trin. p. 218.

with death, it follows of course, that crimes, more odious still both to God and man, must deserve a severer treatment; by the addition of racks, tortures and fires, which are all therefore actually applied in such cases, by every Christian nation, persuaded of the truth of this same principle.

Our Divines indeed take pains to disclame the charge of Popish cruelty, and profess to mean nothing more, than the necessity of *spiritual censures*. They tell us, that piety to God, charity to man, justice to ourselves require the exercise of such censures: *that it is fervent charity, tho' expressed in an harsher way; since palliating medicines would be cruel, where corrosives are the only means of cure* [a]. But all this is a mere fallacy, and the very cant of the Romish Inquisitors; who make the same pretence of piety, charity, and justice, without a grain of them in any of their proceedings, and in the very exercise of such barbarities, as are shocking to humanity itself [b].

Dr. Waterland however says, *that Divines may still desire, that such offenders may live to repent, rather than suffer death or civil penalties*. But what if they should not repent? why then, *they perish*, he says, *with their eyes open, and may take the blame to themselves* [c]. And in truth, all spiritual jurisdiction, whether in Popish or Protestant hands, must of course terminate in civil penalties; since it would be contemptible without them, and unable to enforce it's own censures. But since civil punishments for speculative opinions, if openly and professedly claimed, might be shocking to a free nation, it is artful to evade that odium, by beginning at the other end, and to establish the thing more securely, by seeming to disavow it. But it is certain, that there is very little difference between Protestant and Popish tyranny, if a liberty be not allowed to private judgement in all speculative opinions, without restraint, or fear of punishment, on any other account,

[a] See Import. of the Doctr. of the Trin p. 133.

—plenam charitatis instructionem. Ant. de Domin. Consil. rediv. p. 23.

[b] Sanctæ Inquisitionis paternam curam

[c] Ibid. p. 218, 219.

REMARKS *on the Story &c.*

than of it's being exercised unseasonably and intemperately to the disturbance of the state.

On the whole ; it appears, I think, from what is said above, 1st, that this hearsay-story, concerning *St. John* and *Cerintus*, is at the best of so uncertain and doubtfull a credit, that we cannot reasonably lay any stress, or ground any point of duty upon it. 2dly, That if we should grant it even to be true, it would be absurd and dangerous to the peace of the Church, in it's present circumstances, to establish it as a rule of conduct, to private and ordinary Christians.



E S S A Y

ON THE

Allegorical and Literal INTERPRETATION

OF THE

CREATION and FALL of M A N.



Allegorical Interpretation, &c.

IT is a principle constantly laid down by all the Expositors of Sacred Writ, that every part of it must be expounded in such a manner, as to render it consistent with reason, and the known attributes of the Deity; and whatever will not admit of that interpretation, cannot be received, as of divine authority. If this be true, it follows, that our notion of God and his Attributes is not to be drawn originally from the Scriptures, but from nature and reason, previously to our study of Scriptures, which otherwise would be apt to lead us into dangerous errors. *He who cometh to God, says the Apostle, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those, who diligently seek him [a].* It would be absurd, to make the divine Attributes, the rule of interpreting Scripture, and yet to take our notion of those Attributes from the same Scripture: for that would confound the rule, with the thing to be tried by it: and like travelling in a circle, instead of carrying us forward, would bring us onely to the point, from which we set out. The want of attention to this maxim, and the rashness of interpreting the Sacred books, without any just conception of the Deity, has given birth to all those senseless doctrines and Hæresies which have disturbed and disgraced the Christian Church in all ages.

For example; The literal acceptation of *the Mosaic History of the Creation and fall of man*, by it's seeming inconsistency, with

[a] Heb. xi. 6.

the characters of the divine wisdom and goodness, induced certain Hæretics of the Primitive Church, to assert *the existence of two Gods, or independent principles; the one evil; the Creator of the world, and God of the Old Testament; the other good; the supreme God and Father of Jesus* [a]; while the same method of interpreting induced other *simpler Christians* also, as Origen tells us, *who honored the Creator, and thought nothing superior to him, to ascribe such things to him, as they would not believe of the most cruel and unjust of men* [b]. But neither those early Hæretics, nor simple Christians, could have fallen into such gross errors, if they had previously conceived and fixed in their minds, any rational notion of the nature of God. And in truth, there is not any part of the holy Scriptures, that has so much exercised the wit and invention of the Commentators, as this very History of the Creation, by the difficulty of reconciling it to the allowed attributes of the Creator.

I shall not enter into a particular examination of all their various expositions: some of them will fall in our way in the course of this argument. All that I propose at present, is, to compare only in general, the several merits of the two principal and rival kinds of interpretation, the one according to the Letter, the other to Allegory; which have each of them been approved and preferred in their turns, in different ages of the Church.

By the Letter, I mean the Historical acceptance of the text, as a plain narrative of facts, supposed to have been transacted in the very manner and order, in which they are there related: by Allegory, I mean that latent and more refined way of delivering truth, under the dress of fiction, or fable, which was practised chiefly in antient times, and by the Sages of the Eastern world.

Clemens of Alexandria, one of the most learned and inquisitive of all the Primitive Fathers, declares, “that all, who treat of
“ Theology, whether Greeks or Barbarians, have ever industri-

[a] Iren. l. 1. c. 28, 29. Origen. Præscr. Hæret. 40.

Philocal. c. 1. p. 6, 7, 21. Tertull. [b] Orig. ibid. p. 7.

“ oufly involved the beginnings of things, by delivering the truth
 “ in *ænigmas, symbols, and allegories*. That this *symbolical* man-
 “ nér of instruction was in particular esteem with the *Hebrews* as
 “ well as the *Ægyptians*, and that the *Greeks* borrowed it from
 “ *Moses*. That truth under this veil of allegory carries a more
 “ awfull and majestic form. And that this kind of interpreta-
 “ tion was of all others the most usefull to true Theology, and
 “ piety, and the sure proof of a superior wisdom and under-
 “ standing [1].

Eusebius observes, “ that the *Jews* were of two sorts, the
 “ learned and unlearned : that the latter of these, or the multi-
 “ tude, were subjected by *Moses* to the litteral observation of his
 “ laws, as delivered in words : but the men of stronger minds
 “ were freed from that subjection, and trained to a more divine
 “ philosophy, and to penetrate into the hidden meaning. Agree-
 “ ably to which distinction, he says ; that they had public readers
 “ or Interpreters called *Deuterotæ*, who explained the recondite
 “ and ænigmatical sense, not promiscuously to all, but to such
 “ onely, as were qualified to receive it.” All which he confirms
 by the authority of *Philo* and *Aristobulus*, and the constant
 practice of the *Essenes*, who followed this figurative manner of
 expounding, which, even in those days, was called antient [2].

On the other hand, it is certain, that the litteral interpretation
 of the first chapters of *Genesis*, has been a perpetual source of
 doubts and difficulties to the best Commentators ; and of raillery
 and ridicule to the enemies of reveled religion in all ages. *Celsus*,
 the old adversary of the Gospel, laughs at the story of *Adam's*
formation, and of Eve made from his rib ; of God's commands to
them both ; and of the Serpent opposing and eluding the effect of those
commands, as an absurd old woman's tale : where Origen, in
 answer to him, observes, *that he does not act fairly, but dissembles,*

[1] Stromat. l. 5. p. 658, 670, 673, 679.
 it. l. 2. 429. &c. Edit. Oxon.

xi. v. This *Aristobulus* is supposed to be the
 same person, who is praised in the 2d book
 of the *Maccabees*. c. 1. x.

[2] Præpar. Evangel. l. 8. x, xi. it. l.

what he ought to have signified, that all this was to be understood in an allegorical sense; not giving his reader the words themselves, which would have put him in mind, that they were spoken figuratively. Yet Celsus himself owns on another occasion, that the reasonable and moderate both of the Jews and Christians were ashamed of these stories, and endeavoured to turn them into an Allegory [1].

Origen retorts likewise his own cavils upon him, by shewing
 “ that there were much fillier stories among their own writers,
 “ both Poets, and Philosophers, of which he gives several in-
 “ stances from *Hesiod and Plato*, which were all allegorized by
 “ their interpreters to a moral sense; and he urges it as unreason-
 “ able, to deny to the Jews, and to their Legislator *Moses*, what
 “ was allowed to all other nations; *the possession of truth under*
 “ *the veil of mystery* [2]:” in which reasoning he pursued the principles of his master *Clemens*. *Julian* also, after rallying, as *Celsus* had done, the particular articles of the same story, says; *that unless it be considered as a fable, of a secret and mystical sense, it is full of great blasphemies against God* [3].

It is commonly objected by the Naturalists, that the *Mosaic* account of the creation, if considered onely according to the letter, cannot possibly be reconciled to physical truth, or to the nature of things. *Eusebius* says in excuse for it, *that it was not Moses's intention, to give a philosophical account of the formation of the world, but to signify onely, that it did not exist of itself or by chance, but was the production of an all wise and all powerfull Creator* [4]. *Cyril* makes the same reply to the scoffs of *Julian*, *that Moses's view was, to accommodate his story to the ignorance of the Jews; not to reason accurately on the origin of things, but to shew, that there was one God, who created them all* [5]. Others, who contend for the necessity of allegory, are more severe upon the literal meaning.

Philo calls it a piece of rustic simplicity to imagine, that *God* really

[1] Cont. Cels. p. 186, 187.

[2] Cont. Cels. l. 4. p. 189.

[3] Julian Oper. & Cyrill. contr. Vol.

2. l. 3. p. 93, 94. Ed. Lips.

[4] Præpar. Evangel. l. 2. 7.

[5] Vid. Julian Oper. ibid. p. 50.

employed the labor of six days in the production of things [1]: in which he is followed by *Origen, Austin, Ambrose, &c.* “What man in his senses, says *Origen*, will believe, that the first, 2d and 3d days, and the evenings and mornings passed without sun, moon, and stars? and the first even without the heavens? who so silly as to think, that God, like an Husbandman, planted a garden, and in it a real tree of life, to be tasted by corporeal teeth; or that the knowledge of good and ill was to be acquired by eating the fruit of another tree? and as to God’s walking in that garden and *Adam*’s hiding himself from him among the trees, he says; no man can doubt but that these things are to be taken figuratively, and not literally; to denote certain mysteries or recondite senses.

He contends also, that in some parts of the *Mosaic* history, there are interspersed certain absurdities or impossibilities, on purpose, to draw us away from the mere pleasure of the narration, lest by finding nothing in it worthy of God, we might apostatize from the true doctrine, and being unmoved by the letter, learn nothing divine from it [2].

It would be tedious to collect the strange variety of conceits, which have been invented, about the single article of a Paradise. One main argument against the reality of it, is, the ignorance, in which all ages have been concerning it’s place and situation. It’s being guarded so strictly by a *Cherubim and flaming sword*, if it be understood literally, necessarily implies, that after the expulsion of *Adam*, it was accessible still to man. Yet if it had actually subsisted in any part of the Eastern world, it is hard to conceive, why from the time of *Adam*’s expulsion, there should not be the least mention of it’s place or situation, in the records of those Antediluvian ages: since *Adam* himself was not probably far removed from it; and his posterity at least, upon their increase and dispersion from each other, must needs have been planted and settled on all sides of it.

[1] Vid. Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. l. 5. p. 338.

[2] Orig. Philocal. c. 1. p. 12, 13.

After the deluge indeed, and the universal change, which is supposed to have been made by it on the surface of the earth, it is not strange, that it's place and remains could not any where be discovered, notwithstanding all the pains, inquiries and even voyages of the curious in quest of it: among whom I find none so adventurous, as an Abbot of our own Island, named *Brandanus*, who is celebrated in Monkish story, for sailing round the world in search of it [1]. Yet it is certain, that it could never have been in any part of this terrestrial globe, if what the Primitive Fathers declare concerning it be true, that it was the place, *into which Enoch and Elias were translated, and into which, St. Paul also was caught up, in the third heaven: which Irenæus affirms, to have been taught by the Apostles, and delivered to him by those antient men, who had been their disciples* [2].

But there is not a single article of this narrative of the Creation, which, in it's literal sense, has not puzzled all the expositors, and furnished the Sceptics with perpetual topics of ridicule. In answer to whom, I have never met with one advocate of the letter, either antient or modern, who has ventured to affirm the whole to be rational and natural; or has not been forced to take shelter under Allegory, in one part of it or the other.

Josephus, in the Præface of his Jewish Antiquities, tells us, “ that their Legislator *Moses* had dexterously involved some things “ in ænigma's, delivered others with dignity in Allegories, and literally explained, whatever was proper to be directly proposed: which to those, who are disposed to search into the causes of “ each, will afford much contemplation, and of a kind truly “ philosophical. That the purpose of his Antiquities was, to “ set forth onely the literal and historical part; but if God prolonged his life, he would endeavour to explain the other parts “ also.” And in the first chapter of his book, he clearly signifies, “ that the story of the Creation was of the allegoric kind: “ for after a brief abstract of the first day's work, given in the

[1] Chytr. Onomastic. Bibl. p. 798.

[2] Iren. l. 5. c. 5. p. 405. vid. Not. 4.

“ words of *Moses*, he adds; I could now explaine the cause of
 “ this, but since I have promised to give the causes of ail in a
 “ separate volume, I will defer the interpretation of it to that
 “ time [1].”

Philo actually performed, what *Josephus* promised; and has largely explained all the allegories of the Mosaic law; and in a particular treatise *on the formation of the World, according to Moses's account of it*, he says; “ these are not fabulous tales, such
 “ as the poetic and sophistick tribe delight in, but figurative descriptions, leading us to allegorical and recondite senses; to
 “ which if any one rightly and rationally attends, he will aptly
 “ call the serpent the emblem of pleasure. First, because, being
 “ without feet, he lays his whole stress upon his belly: 2dly,
 “ because he makes the clods of earth his food: 3dly, because
 “ he carries poison in his teeth, which destroys all who are bit
 “ by him: all which noxious qualities belong also to the voluptuous man [2].”

St. Austin, in the preface to his twelve books, of *the literal interpretation of the three first chapters of Genesis*, says; “ the
 “ question is, whether all these things are to be understood
 “ ly in a figurative sense, or to be embraced and defended by the
 “ rule of historical faith, as things, which were really transacted.
 “ For that they are not to be understood figuratively, no Christian
 “ will dare to say; who recollects, that the Apostle declares,
 “ *how all those things happened to them in a figure*, and recommends
 “ that, which is written in *Genesis*, *these two shall be one flesh*, as a
 “ great mystery, relating to Christ and the Church [3]. On the
 “ subject of *Paradise* also, he tells us, “ that there were three
 “ opinions about it, which were in a manner general: One, of
 “ those, who interpreted it, of a corporeal or material *Paradise*:
 “ another, of those, who understood it onely, of a spiritual one:

[1] Vid. *Antiqu. Jud. Proëm. & c.* 1. p. 5. Edit. Haverc.

[3] Nam non esse accipienda figuraliter, nullus Christianus dicere audebit &c. De *Genes. ad litteram*. l. 1. c. 1.

[2] De *Opific. Mundi Secund. Moyf.* Op. T. 1. p. 38. Ed. Lond.

“ and a third, of those, who considered it in both those senses ;
 “ sometimes in a corporeal and sometimes in a spiritual : and this
 “ third opinion, he says : was that which pleased him [1].”
 Wherefore, after he had given the allegorical interpretation in
 another part of his writings, he professes in these twelve books,
 to explain the same things, according to their historical truth ;
 yet even here, is frequently driven back again to Allegory, or as
 oft as he found himself unable, he says, *to accommodate the text*
to a proper and literal sense [2].

But this double way of interpreting, which *Austin* here approves, and the Moderns generally follow, by considering one sentence as literal ; the next, as allegorical ; one part as a fact, the next as a fable ; seems to be absurd and irrational ; tending rather to confound, than enlighten the understandings of men ; and was contrived without doubt for no other purpose, but the support of systems and prejudices, which plain scripture would not justify, till it was dressed up and seasoned as it were, by a mixture of senses which did not belong to it. Fables indeed may be grounded on things real and true : and a general notion of such truths may be artfully conveyed under the veil of fiction or Allegory : but historical and allegorical narrations are compositions of quite different kinds, and serving to different ends : the one to represent, by a literal description, the true and natural state of things ; the other, to inculcate some hidden truth, quite different from what it literally represents. It seems impossible therefore, that two such opposite characters, which naturally destroy each other, can belong to the same subject ; or that one and the same description can, by any art or mixture of senses, be rendered both truly historical and allegorical at the same time.

[1] Tres tamen de hac re quasi generales sunt sententiæ &c. *ibid.* l. 8. c. 1.

[2] Et quia non mihi tunc occurrebant omnia, quemadmodum proprie possent accipi, magisque non posse accipi videbantur, aut vix posse, aut difficile ; &c—

ib. l. 8. c. 2.

Tota ista sententia figurata est. *ib.* l. 13. c. 36.

Hæc quoque in mulierem verba Dei, figurate & prophetice multo commodius intelliguntur. *ib.* c. 37.

From these authorities and reflections, I have ever been inclined to consider the particular story of *the fall of man*, as a moral fable or allegory; such as we frequently meet with in other parts, both of the old and new Testament, in which certain religious duties and doctrines, with the genuine nature and effects of them, are represented as it were to our senses, by a fiction of persons and facts, which had no real existence. And I am the more readily induced to espouse this sense of it, from a persuasion, that it is not only the most probable and rational, but the most useful also to the defence of our religion, by clearing it of those difficulties, which are apt to shock and make us stumble as it were, at the very threshold.

For whether we interpret the story literally or allegorically, I take it to be exactly the same, with regard to its effects and influence on Christianity; which requires nothing more from it, than what is taught by both the kinds of interpretation, *that this world had a beginning and creation from God; and that its principal inhabitant man, was originally formed to a state of happiness and perfection which he lost and forfeited, by following his lusts and passions, in opposition to the will of his Creator.* For there could not be any religion at all, without the belief of such a Creator, nor any need of a revealed religion, but upon the supposition of man's fall. These two points then, as the ancients observed, are all, that *Moses* proposed to deliver to us; and they are delivered with equal truth and efficacy, either in the literal or the allegorical way: nor do I find any reference to them in the sacred Scriptures, which appears to be inconsistent with the allegorical acceptance of them.

Have ye not read, says our Saviour to the *Pharisees*, *that he, who made them at the beginning, made them male and female? and for this cause shall a man leave his Father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh* [1]. He takes no notice of the particular manner of *Eve's* formation, from the rib of *Adam*;

[1] Matt. xix. 4. Marc. x. 6.

but intimates onely in general the fact of their creation and the moral of it, which is equally deducible from the literal and the allegorical sense. *St. Paul* seems to allude indeed to the circumstance of the rib, where he says, *that the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man: and that Adam was first formed, and then Eve*: [2] whence he infers the subordination of the female Sex. But his argument, whether it be drawn from the letter or the allegory, would have the same force, since it is supposed, that the allegory itself was contrived for the purpose, of suggesting the same inference. Again, *I fear*, says *Paul to the Corinthians*, *lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity, that is in Christ*. [3] Where he seems to unfold the true meaning and hidden sense of the *Mosaic* parable, and to signify, that *Eve* was beguiled and seduced from her native simplicity, by the carnality of her lusts and affections. For as that was certainly the case of the *Corinthians*, so the Apostle's simile would not be pertinent, unless we take the serpent, as many of the learned have done, to be the *symbol of lust and sensual pleasure*.

The book of *Job*, according to the most probable opinion, is nothing else, but a kind of *Fable* or *Poetic Drama*; designed to inculcate the certainty of a divine Providence; the duty of patience in afflictions, and of submission to the will of God under all his dispensations, how severe or afflicting soever they may happen to be. This was the sense of the most antient and learned *Jews*; who had no clear account or probable tradition concerning either *Job* himself, or the author of the book: which some impute to *Moses*; some to *David*; some to *Isaiab*, or to one of the later Prophets; while others suppose it to have been written after the *Babylonish captivity*: Yet all of them seem to think, that *Job* himself, if such a man ever really existed, must have lived in the times of the Patriarchs, But be that as it will, it is evident, that every part of the book breaths a dramatic and fabulous

[2] 1. Cor. xi. 8.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

air: the council of Angels convoked by God; the appearance of Satan among them; his debate with God, and commission received from him; the several speeches of Job and his friends; the conclusion of the whole, by the apparition of God himself in a whirlwind; and all this, as the critics observe, delivered in verse, make it highly probable or certain rather, that it was intended, as I have said, for an instructive or *moral Drama*. Yet we find it referred to, and applied by *Ezekiel* and *St. James*, in the same manner as if it were a real history [1]; because it's moral or doctrinal part could not fail to have the same effect in the one way, as in the other.

I cannot however omit one argument for the reality of it's historic character, which was wanting, as I observed above, to the case of Paradise. For tho' the place of Paradise could never be discovered in any age, by the most laborious searches of the curious, yet *St. Chrysostom* assured us, "that it was common in his days to undertake dangerous voyages by sea, from the remotest parts of the earth, to visit Job's dunghill in Arabia, and upon sight of it, to kiss the ground, which that holy champion had stained with the blood of his ulcers, more precious than any gold; and from which they received, he says, infinite benefit, and much philosophical instruction [2]."

The case is the same with the parables of our Saviour. For example; the parable of *Dives and Lazarus*, is delivered in so lively and affecting a manner, as to have given rise to a dispute, both among the antients and the moderns, whether it be a fable or true history, or mixed and compounded of them both [3]. But in what way soever it be taken, it yields the very same fruit to us: and all the interpreters, from the time of it's publication to this day, have been drawing from it, as from a real history, many excellent lessons both of faith and practice. *St. Chrysostom*, in

[1] Ezech. xiv. 14. Epist. Jam. v. 11.

pauperis & divitis. Sed primum quidem docuit, neminem oportere deliciis uti. &c. Iren. l. 4. c. 3. Vid. Not. 2.

[2] Chrysost. Oper. T. 2. p. 59. Edit. Benedict.

[3] Non autem fabulam retulit nobis

four several Homilies, harangues upon it, as a perpetual source of instruction to all conditions of men ; and tho' he treats it as a proper parable, yet he makes this reflection on the whole, *that advice and admonition have the surest effect, when we see the riotous chastised and punished not in words onely, but in fact and reality* [1].

To conclude, since it is allowed to have been the practice of all the sages of the antient world, in treating of the origin of things, and the sublime doctrines of theology, to wrap up what they delivered, under the veil of *Ænigmas, Symbols, and Allegories* ; and since this was more peculiarly the custom of the *Ægyptians*, among whom *Moses* was born, and diligently trained in all the mysterious parts of their learning and wisdom ; it is reasonable to imagine, that on the subject of the Creation, and the origin of man, he should use a manner of writing, which all other nations then used, and which his masters the *Ægyptians* had particularly taught him. This, I say, is what we should previously expect from such a writer, on such a subject ; and this is what we find him to have actually performed ; as it is evident, as well from the turn and manner of his writing, as from the testimony of those very people, for whose instruction he wrote ; who generally treat these first chapters of *Genesis* as allegorical, and are said, to have restrained their youth from reading them on account of the difficulties of the literal sense, and the wrong notions, which it might imprint of God, till they had reached a maturity of age and judgement, which might qualify them to comprehend it's more recondite meaning. The Christians, also, when they received these books from the *Jews*, received from them at the same time, this same method of expounding, which they universally followed in the primitive ages : and on the authority of such guides, it cannot surely be thought rash, or give any just scandal, to adhere to the same interpretation ; especially, since it will be found, as I have said above, the most effectual of all others, to clear our religion from those objections, which in all ages have shocked the faith of many, on their very entrance into it.

[1] Chrysost. T. 1. 719.



A
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *W A T E R L A N D*;
Containing some R E M A R K S on his
Vindication of Scripture:
In Answer to a Book, intituled,
Christianity as old as the Creation,
Together with
The S K E T C H or P L A N
O F
Another Answer to the said B o o k.



A
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *W A T E R L A N D.*

S I R,

I HAVE lately read a *Piece of yours*, called, *Scripture Vindicated, in answer to a Book, intituled, Christianity as old as the Creation*. I sat down to it, I confess, with some kind of eagerness; expecting from the great reputation of your name, as well as the great importance of the subject, to find in it something solid and convincing, answerable to the difficulty of the task you had undertaken, of reconciling *all the exceptionable passages of Scripture* to reason and morality.

But I had not entered far, before I perceived the vanity of my expectation, and foresaw the disappointment I was like to suffer in my hopes of entertainment and satisfaction from a work, which partly from its own nature, but especially from your method of handling it, seems calculated rather to raise *new scruples*, than to quiet *old ones*; and to expose the *Scripture you are vindicating* to fresh ridicule and contempt, than to convince either the *Author* you have to deal with, or any others of *sceptical and unsettled* minds: the reasons of which opinion I shall without further preface or ceremony proceed to explain to you very freely.

A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing

Your *Introduction* begins by opening to us the design of the *Author* you are confuting; telling us, that *his book is a declamatory libel against revealed Religion, under colour of setting up natural Religion in its place*; that he discovers in it *two principal ends*; the one, *to vilify the holy Scripture*; the other, *to magnify the law of Nature*: In the first, you own he deals *frankly and from his heart*; in the latter, you charge him with hypocrisy and dissimulation; assuring us, that all he says is *but flim*, and that in reality he is no more a friend to *Natural Religion* than he is to *Revealed*.

This you support by declaring that *Natural Religion is so bound up in Revealed, that they cannot subsist separately; must stand or fall together*; and consequently, *if he had been a friend to one, it is not conceivable how he could be an adversary to the other*.

But this, Sir, I'm afraid, will make but little impression on your adversary; will pass with him for *meer begging the question*; meer words without weight or consequence; or what's still worse, will, when examined, be found to be false: for had not *Natural Religion* a subsistence before *Christianity* was ever known to the world? and did not many by its sole influence attain to such an exalted degree of virtue, as few or none have ever since arrived at? and at this very day in *Mahometan and Idolatrous Nations*, where *Christianity* has no influence, is it not necessary to imagine, that there are many, who by the *meer light of Reason* see thro' the cheat of the *popular Religion*, and by its help form to themselves some other more rational rule of life and manners; and lastly, in our own as well as other *Christian* countries, however *inconceivable* it may be to you, yet all who know any thing of the world, will easily *conceive*, and actually find it a very common case, to meet with men who with little or no regard for *Revealed Religion*, yet express both by words and actions a great reverence for *Natural*; of which number *your Author*, for any thing I know, or you have said to the contrary, may possibly be one: for since in every part of his work he professes a very *high notion* of the excellency of *Reason, Truth and Virtue*; professes to believe *a God, a Providence, a future state*; both reason and charity oblige

us to look upon him as sincere, till we are forced to think otherwise by some particular knowledge or information of his real life and character.

But no thanks, you tell us, are due, to persons for commending *Virtue, which all the world admires, and envy itself must praise, and which even its enemies are forced to pay a reverence and veneration to.* Now is not this a little inconsistent, to charge men with a design to overthrow what themselves, and all the world besides, must necessarily admire and pay a veneration to? and tho' their reverence, as you say, is but an *awkward one*, and what they are forced to against their wills; yet is it possible to entertain a thought of destroying what the *nature and necessity of things* force them to reverence? What you mean by an *awkward reverence*, I don't well understand; but am certain, that if *awkwardness* be a mark of insincerity, then *Orthodoxy* must needs be undone, since I know none who pay *their reverence so awkwardly* as some of its principal champions.

You next explain the purpose of your own work; designed, you say, *to rescue the word of God from misrepresentation and censure, from the reproaches and blasphemies of foolish men:* and 'tis matter of melancholy consideration to You, *that there should be found men so abandoned and profligate, as to shut their eyes against light; affront God to his face; take a pride in throwing him back his favours.* But how melancholy soever this consideration may be, we ought not still, it seems, to be *shocked or scandalized* at it, for two reasons. First, because it was prophesied, *that there should come scoffers in the last days;* yet all the instances you give are of such as came in the *first days.* Secondly, because *it is certainly known with what views, and upon what motives they do it,* being all *an abandoned and profligate set of men; taking a pride in affronting God to his face; whose affections are corrupt, whose deeds evil; the secret of whose counsels is to steel mens hearts against a judgment to come, and lead them blindfold into Hell; whose real and onely aim is to reduce the laws of God to the lusts and passions of men; to shake off all religious restraints, that they may be at liberty to follow their pleasures, &c.*

A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing

But this, good Doctor, to speak freely, is not *reasoning* but *railing*; or, to use your own words [a], *shews more of a disposition to revile, than to argue and debate*; and till 'tis supported by facts and proofs sufficient to convince men of sense, will always pass with such for *the crude and senseless cant of Bigots*, the common-place stuff of declamatory Preachers: for every man, who has practised the world, and used the conversation of men of letters, must needs have met with many persons of much seeming honor, virtue, and sobriety of life, who partly *profess to have scruples*, partly an *entire disbelief of all Revelation*: and what way, think you, is the most likely to convince men of this character? Is it possible to work any good upon them by the method you here take; by telling them that they are *profligate and abandoned, contemners of God, and enemies to Man*? Is not such treatment sure to have a contrary effect? and being conscious to themselves, that your charge upon them is both *false and malicious*, instead of considering *your book*, as a *charitable attempt* to recover a soul from ruin, they will reject it with scorn, as an *infamous and scandalous libel*.

After this general charge on all who *cavil at Scripture*, you descend to fix it more particularly on the *Author* you have to do with: this you do, first, by citing *two passages from some private letters*, as you call them; signifying that the intention of the writer of them was *to save a soul from the dismal apprehensions of eternal damnation; or from the uneasiness of mind which he is often under when pleasure and Christianity come in competition*. What *Letters* these are I know not, but presume, that you have reason to know the *Author of them* to be the *Author likewise of the book* you are confuting; or else with what sense or justice can you impute to *one man* what *another* has said or written? but you add immediately, *this is the noble and generous aim which the Writer I am concerned with boasts of in his Preface*. This indeed is charging him home with the *same sentiments*; if he not onely avows them, but *boasts of them*: for who could collect or imagine any thing less

from your words? but I was much surprized, when consulting his *Preface* on the occasion, I could not find a syllable of the *letters or passages* just mentioned, nor any sentiments at all like them, but the mention onely of a *noble and generous design*, in having, as he imagined, contrived rules to distinguish between *Religion and Superstition*. Such a disingenuous way of forming an indictment must needs appear odious not onely to the *enemies*, but much more to the *friends* of a Religion, which prohibits so severely all *rash censure*; prescribes the *utmost candour and charity* towards all men, and will not bear a *railing accusation* even against the *Devil* himself.

From charging him with *other peoples* sentiments, you come at last to convict him by *his own*: telling us, that *he gives broad hints in one place, that he looks upon incontinence in single persons as one of the rights allowed by the Law of Nature*. If by *incontinence* he means, what you seem to suppose, the *cohabiting of single persons of each sex for the propagation of the species, without the intervention of a Priest, or any other formality but mutual consent*; had his *hints* been still *broad*, they are but agreeable to the principles he maintains; nor will he find much difficulty in defending them by the *Laws of Reason and Nature*; and I wonder how from such *hints* you can ground any imputation of *immorality* upon one, who is reasoning from those principles, from which your self must be forced to allow still a greater licence; not onely *a plurality of wives*, but a *number of concubines* into the bargain; unless you will give up some part at least of the Scripture you are vindicating, and condemn the *holy Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*; and above all, *David, the man after God's own heart*; who had at least *seven wives*, and *ten concubines*, without ever being admonished for it by any of the *Prophets*, or censured by any of the *sacred Writers*. So that here he will probably turn your own reasoning upon you; that it is *a weak thing of you, to charge the Law of Nature as not strict enough, when your own Scripture appears to be looser* [a].

Again; you charge him with *declaring flatly and plainly against our Lord's doctrine of loving those that hate us*: Yet in the place you refer to, I find him arguing onely, that those words are not to be taken in their *strict and literal* sense, but like *many other texts* of the same nature, which he there enumerates, viz. *he that takes away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also: of him who takes thy goods, ask them not again: whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c.* must be interpreted agreeably to the *reason and nature of things*, and the *common good of society*; and that to practise them in their *obvious and grammatical* sense would occasion much mischief to the public, much injustice to particular men: In all which, as he says nothing more than what *all Commentators and all rational Christians* allow, I cannot think it reasonable, from this instance, to charge him with seeking to *relax the Laws of Christ, to make them suit the better with corrupt Nature.*

But had he furnished no direct proofs of the *malice* you impute to him, yet your penetration, it seems, is such, as can see to the *very bottom* of him; for tho' he *studiously*, as you say, *disguises himself, and takes great pains to put fair glosses on what he is doing, yet sometimes he discovers the very secrets of his heart*: and tho' in the same page you allow, that *he himself best knows how far he is influenced by lust and malice*; yet in the very next words you recollect your self, and signify, that you know as well as himself, and that *'tis easy to perceive how much the black passions have got the ascendant over him.*

The conclusion of *your Introduction* is of a piece with the rest: for after declaiming against his wickedness, you conclude by condemning his learning and abilities. *His attacks*, you say, *are feeble, his artillery contemptible: he has no genius or taste for literature; no acquaintance with the original languages; nor so much as with common Criticks and Commentators: several of his objections are pure English objections; such as affect onely our translation: the rest are of the lowest and most trifling sort, &c.* And in the body of your book you go still farther, and treat him with the
plain

plain terms of *Fool and Idiot* ; as having neither *wit, judgment, learning, or any thing but dull malice* [a].

If this be really the case, what is *all this bustle* about? Why all this *apparatus* to foil so *feeble, so contemptible an adversary*? Why must you be called off from the great work of defending *Creeds and Positive Precepts*, to contend with such a *trifler*? Why must *two eminent scholars* be picked out from *Oxford and Cambridge*, to divide the task between them, and repel with united force the *despicable attacks of a pure English blunderer*? All *this apparatus*, I say, must needs persuade us, that you have a different notion of *his ability*, from what you think proper to declare: and, in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or insincerely are apt to betray themselves, so you in many places confute your self, and shew that these *pure English objections*, which owe their rise, as you would insinuate, to the *blunders of our Translation*, deserve to be considered in another light; since at some times you exclaim against them as being *stale, or borrowed from Antiquity*; from the ancient enemies of Religion, *Celsus and Julian*; at other times, from our learned moderns, *Marsham and Burnet, &c.* [b] and do not so much as in one single instance prove them to be grounded on the *mislaken sense* of the original.

For my own part, to observe our *English proverb*, and give *even the Devil his due*, I cannot for my life discover any such want of *literature* as you object to him; but on the contrary, see plainly that his work has been the effect of *much study and reading*; his materials collected from a great variety of the *best Writers*; his pages decently *crowded with citations*; and his *Index of Authors as numerous*, as that of most books which have lately appeared: and to tell you the truth, were it my task to answer him in the method you have chosen, by undertaking to *vindicate every single text of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made to it*, I should be tempted to wish that he had still *less learning*, rather than *more*; since with the small share he has, one may easily

[a] P. 31, 95.

[b] P. 27, 28, 55.

foresee by the specimen you give us, that he will in many cases be at least a full match for you.

Thus much, Sir, for your *Introduction*; which, if it appears to others in the same light, as it did to me, will afford them but little hopes of pleasure or edification in what is to follow; but like foul weather at setting out, give a discouraging prospect of the dirt they are to travel thro' in the rest of their journey.

Let's now proceed to examine the work itself; wherein you undertake to *vindicate the most exceptionable texts of Scripture from cavil and censure*: This, Sir, is a hardy undertaking, and what few men of modesty or prudence would venture upon; since however it may be discharged, 'tis likely, as I've said above, from the nature of the subject itself, to do *hurt*, rather than *service*, to the cause of *Religion*; as 'tis raking into *old sores*; giving new life to *old cavils*; solving objections which you call *stale and trivial*, by answers as *stale and as trivial* too; for had these ever been satisfactory, the others could hardly have subsisted to this day. To confirm this, I shall not follow you thro' all the *texts you vindicate*, but content my self with a *few remarks on two or three* of the greatest importance; in the explication of which you seem to have taken the greatest pains. To begin then with your vindication of the *scriptural history of man's fall*.

The *Author* you are confuting says, it seems, that *Christians are now ashamed of the literal interpretation of this story [a]*: which tho' you seem disposed to treat as a *Calumny*, yet 'tis certain and undeniable, that *all Commentators* whatsoever are forced in some measure to *desert the letter*, in order to make the story *rational and credible*. You tell us, with many of them, that the *Deceiver was a real Serpent, actuated by the Devil [b]*; this you declare sufficient to *obviate all difficulties*, to solve *all objections*: yet *Moses*, you own, says not *one word of the Devil*; nor *had occasion to say any thing of him*; nay, that *it was better he shou'd say nothing of him, because he had said nothing of him [c]*: but whether it were

[a] P. 14.

[b] P. 15.

[c] P. 13.

better or worse, it is certain however, that the *introducing a Devil is contrary to the letter* ; which speaks onely of a *proper and mcer Serpent*, as the author of this deception ; and suggests the reason both of the attempt and the success of it, in the *natural cunning* of that beast. *For the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field* ; and by *his subtilty*, says St. Paul [a], *he deceived Eve* ; who in making her defence to God, does not plead that the *Devil*, which had been a much better excuse, but that the *Serpent deceived her*. You tell us, on another occasion, that *God accommodates his Phrases to the language of men, in order to be better understood by men* [b] : Pray tell us then, Good Sir, how he has *accommodated his Phrases* here ; whether that he may be *better understood of the Serpent, or of the Devil* ?

Now *because the Serpent was more remarkably subtil, he was, you say* [c], *the properest instrument of the Tempter to deceive by ; the best cover to conceal his fraud*. But here again most people will be of a different mind : for 'tis natural to be jealous and on our guard against the counsels, to distrust all offers of kindness of the *subtle and malicious* : so that an *As* or a *Dove* must needs have been a fitter engine for *Satan*, under the disguise of folly or innocence, to have insinuated his poison by. And tho' you tell us here, that *the apprehension Eve had of his subtilty might make her less surpris'd to hear him reason and discourse* ; yet in the very next page you declare it *natural to suppose, that for want of longer experience she might not know whether any brute creatures were capable either of reason or speech*. Can such shuffling and inconsistency, think you, have any good effect towards *rescuing the word of God from reproach and censure* ?

'Tis the opinion, you say [d], of some very worthy and learned persons, that *the Serpent was so like a Seraph, that Eve mistook it for a good Angel*. The opinion indeed is very extravagant, that *Serpents* were originally in shape and beauty so like to *blessed Angels*, that it was easy to mistake the one for the other. But

[a] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

[b] P. 30.

[c] P. 15.

[d] P. 16.

as extravagant as it is, 'twas embraced by Bishop *Patrick*, *Tenison*, and many other learned men, to avoid what they thought the more extravagant of the two, the very opinion you maintain; which tho' you declare to have no kind of *difficulty or improbability* in it, yet Bishop *Patrick* treats as ridiculous and *incredible* [a]: and what reasonable hopes can you have of *converting Infidels and silencing Scepticks*, by the force of a solution which our *best Commentators* and *orthodox Bishops* reject as *simple and foolish*?

But 'tis not *the extravagance* of this notion, but the *easiness* of it, that offends you: it spoils the whole story, by making it, as you say, *too easy*: this indeed is the true spirit of a *right orthodox Divine*; nothing *easy* will go down with him; nothing but the *marvellous* and the *improbable* will please him; and the good old principle *credo quia impossibile*, is with him the onely touchstone of a true *saving Faith*.

But is the *Devil* then such a *Hero*, that he scorns an *easy conquest*; nor cares to engage but where there's difficulty in the conflict? or is it inconsistent with the *goodness of God* to allow him a triumph *so easy*? 'Tis certain, that on some occasions he *transforms himself into an angel of light* [b]: and where could he ever have more occasion to do it than in the case we are considering? For if under that shape his victory was *too easy* before the *fall*, how much *easier* must it needs be now, in this *degenerate state* of man? If the *easiness* of it seemed then to reflect on the *goodness of God* for permitting it, how much more must it do so now, in suffering him with all that advantage to attack man when he is *down*, to trample on him when he is *fallen*?

But to proceed; tho' the *introduction of a Devil* may serve to clear up the difficulty of the *Serpent's speaking and reasoning*, yet it raises up a new one of a higher nature, which *your Author* charges upon it, against the *justice of God himself*, in not interpo-

[a] She was not so simple as to think that Beasts could speak——nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some

creature which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly Minister. *Comment on Gen. iii. 1.*

[b] 1 Cor. xi. 14.

sing in so unequal a conflict. This objection, how merry soever you may make with it, by laughing at *your Author's want of Spectacles* [a], is certainly of weight enough to puzzle and stagger our reason : and every man has a right to require from those, who pretend to be *guides and teachers of Religion*, how such passages delivered and inculcated by them, as the *undoubted word of God*, can be reconciled to the known *attributes and perfections of the Deity*.

Should a *Father* discard and disinherit a *Child*, for having deserted some post assigned him; seduced either by the craft of some *old Sophister*, or driven off by the superior strength of some able bodied man, the Father all the while looking on, nor interposing at all in a trial so unreasonable; wou'd not the fact be thought *barbarous and unnatural*? Now the conflict in such case could not be more unequal than between our first *Parents and Satan*; and the love of *God to his Creatures* must necessarily be allowed superior to that of *natural Fathers* to their *Children*. Yet you, Sir, see no *kind of difficulty*, and treat the demand of a *reason* on the occasion as a *vain curiosity*, and *impertinent cavilling* [b] : since every body, you say, must needs see *how kind and indulgent God was in this whole proceeding* [c] : whereas, to speak for my self, I cannot from the *literal acceptation* of the story, with all your *comment* upon it, see the least symptom of *any kindness or indulgence* at all; but on the contrary, a necessity of flying to *allegory*, to account for the seeming injustice and unreasonable severity of the *Divine conduct*.

But since in a question of this nature, both *your reason* and *mine* may possibly be suspected, as if *prejudiced by education, influenced by custom, or biassed perhaps by some interest* in favour of *established opinions*; I shall appeal to an authority, which cannot be charged either with prejudice or partiality, with favouring or detracting from the credit of *Moses*; one of the *greatest Masters of Reason* that *Antiquity* every produced, I mean *Cicero*;

[a] P. 18.

[b] P. 20.

[c] P. 19.

whose sentiments declared in some cases, nearly allied to the present, may serve to inform us what *unprejudiced Reason* would determine upon the *literal history of man's fall*.

Cicero tells us [a], that the very Gods of the Poets, had they known how pernicious their gifts would prove to their Children, must be thought to have been wanting in point of kindness towards them. What then wou'd he have thought of God's foreseeing the immediate fall of man, yet creating him to a state of sin and misery?

He says in another place, that 'tis unworthy of God to do any thing in vain, for that wou'd be a reflection even upon man's constancy [b]. What then cou'd he have judged of the formation of a Paradise, and all that apparatus and provision for the blifs and immortality of the first Pair; which was no sooner made than forfeited, and like a *Theatrical Scence* changed in an instant, to a prospect of misery and barrenness?

Again, it is, says he [c], the common opinion of all Philosophers, of what sect soever, that the Deity can neither be angry, nor hurt any body. How would he have been surprized then, to find God represented here as fierce and enraged, driving out his own creatures in anger, from the blifs he had provided for them, and in a kind of fury cursing the very earth for their sakes?

He exclaims on another occasion, *Oh the wonderful equity of the Gods!* wou'd any people endure the maker of such a law, that the Son or Grandson should be punished, because the Father or Grandfather had offended [d]?

How wou'd he have exclaimed then at God's punishing so severely not onely the first Pair, but their whole posterity, the whole

[a] Atque is tamen ipsi Dii Poetici, si scissent perniciofa fore illa filiis, peccasse in beneficio putarentur. Nat. Deor. 1. 3. 31. Edit. Davis.

[b] Nec enim ignorare Deus potest quamente quisque sit: nec frustrà ac sine causa quid facere dignum Deo est, quod abhorret etiam ab hominis constantia. De Divin. 1. 2. 60.

[c] At hoc commune est omnium Philosophorum—nunquam nec irasci Deum nec nocere. De off. 3. 27.

[d] O miram æquitatem Deorum! ferret ne ulla Civitas latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius, aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset? De Nat. Deor. 3. 38.

race of mankind for their sin ; and even the *Serpent* too, for the fraud of the *Devil* ?

Lastly, upon mention of a *dream of Alexander the Great*, that a *Serpent* appeared to him, and told him where he might find a certain root to cure his friend *Ptolemy* of a wound which was judged mortal : laughing at the story, the *Serpent*, says he, seemed to talk to *Alexander* : this, whether true or false, has nothing in it ; since he did not really hear him speak, but seemed onely to do so [a]. But how wou'd he have laugh'd at your literal story, of a *Serpent* actually speaking and reasoning, without moving the least wonder and surprize in the hearer ? These passages may serve, I say, to shew what unprejudiced reason wou'd have thought of the vulgar history of *man's fall* : and tho' you, Sir, can swallow and digest the whole, without the least difficulty or reluctance ; yet what offence, what contradiction to reason, is to be found in every single article of the account ?

'Tis necessary then, for the satisfaction of our reason, and the quieting our scruples, to desert the outward letter, and search for the hidden, allegorical sense of the story : where I shall not take the trouble of collecting all the fancies and whimsical solutions of the *Rabbins* and the *Fathers* ; but content myself with proposing one, which appears to me the most probable and rational of them all ; viz. that by *Adam* we are to understand reason or the mind of man ; by *Eve*, the flesh or outward senses ; by the *Serpent*, lust or pleasure : In which Allegory we see clearly explained the true causes of *man's fall* and degeneracy : that as soon as his mind, through the weakness and treachery of his senses, became captivated and seduced by the allurements of lust and pleasure, he was driven by God out of *Paradise* ; that is, lost and forfeited the happiness and prosperity which he had enjoyed in his innocence. All this is intelligible and rational ; agreeable not only to the common notions and tradition of history, but to the constant and

[a] Alexandro loqui draco visus est. audivit ille draconem loquentem, sed visus
Potest hoc esse falsum, potest verum : sed est audire. De Divin. l. 2. 68.
utrum sit, non est mirabile ; non enim

established method of *God's Providence*, who has wisely constituted *misery, sorrow, and the debasement of our nature*, to be the *natural and necessary effect* of *vice and sin*.

This interpretation is embraced by several of the *Antients*; particularly *St. Austin*; who tells us, *that the same thing is acted over again in every one of us, as oft as we fall into sin, that was represented by the Serpent, the Woman and the Man: for there's first, says he, a suggestion or insinuation; either by a thought or the senses of the body; by which if our inclination is not prevailed with to sin, then is the subtilty of the Serpent baffled and vanished; but if 'tis prevailed with, then we yield, as it were, to the persuasions of the Woman: and when our reason has thus consented to execute what our lust had moved, then is Man effectually driven out and expelled from all possession of happiness, as from a Paradise [a].* Now whatever opinion *this Father* might on other occasions declare, (as he was not always very consistent with himself) yet at the time of writing the book, whence this passage is taken, he was persuaded, that in the *history of the creation and fall of man*, we could not avoid *absurdities and blasphemy towards God*, without giving up the *literal meaning*, and trusting wholly to an *allegorical exposition* of it [b].

I have met with a *mystical Fable* among the *Antients*, not very unlike the case before us: *that Man having obtained of Jove a remedy, to preserve him in perpetual health and vigour, and prevent all the evils and infirmities of age, laid it on an Ass to carry for him; but the Ass being very dry and wanting to drink, was cheated of it by a Serpent, guardian of the spring; who persuaded him to exchange his load for a draught of water: and so the Serpent has ever since enjoyed the benefit of it, renewing its youth and*

[a] De Genes. contra Manich. 1. 2. c. 12.

[b] Si autem nullus exitus datur, ut piè & dignè Deo quæ scripta sunt intelligantur, nisi figuratè atque in ænigmatibus

proposita ista credamus, habentes Auctoritatem Apostolicam, modum quem intendimus teneamus—ut omnes istas figuras rerum secundum Catholicam Fidem—explicemus, &c. Ibid. c. 3.

vigour every year, whilst man is left to languish by diseases and decay [a].

Moses, we read, was learned in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians [b]; and their learning, especially in things sacred and divine, was wholly mystical and symbolical; proposed always under the figures of men, beasts and birds, which were called Hieroglyphicks, or sacred characters; invented and used by them, as Kircher [c] has shewn, before Moses's time: amongst these, the Serpent, as all Authors inform us, was of more common use with them, than any other animal; whose nature they imagined to have something very excellent and divine in it [d]. So that it supplied the place of two letters of their symbolical Alphabet; and served them as an Hieroglyphick of various signification; more particularly as an emblem of subtlety and cunning, as well as of lust and sensual pleasure [e]. Whence it cannot seem improbable, that Moses's account of the fall might be drawn from principles and notions imbibed in his youth in the Schools of the Ægyptians.

Dr. Spencer, explaining this custom of the Ægyptians, of delivering all the sublimer parts of knowledge under the cover of Symbols, Types and Emblems, observes, that when God called out Moses to his Prophetick Office, he considered him as one who had been trained up in that kind of learning; and that 'tis consonant therefore to the character and history of Moses, to imagine that God designed, that he should write and treat of all the sublime things committed to him, in that mystical and hieroglyphical way of literature in which he had been educated [f].

The

[a] Nicandri Theriac. Edit. Ald. p. 7.
§. 17. & Scholia ib.

[b] Acts vii. 22.

[c] Vid. Kircher. Obelisc. Pamphil. I. 2. de institutione & fabrica Hieroglyphicor. c. 2. p. 102, &c.

Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 14.

[d] Nihil inter Hieroglyphica Sym-

bola Serpente frequentius—cum enim viderent Serpentem animal igneo Spiritu plenum, vivax, &c. fieri non posse crediderunt, quin aliquid magnum, excellens & prorsus divinum sub iis lateret. Ibid. l. 4. Idem Hieroglyph. p. 347.

[e] Ib. l. 2. c. 6. p. 131. It. Pierii Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14

[f] Cum Deus ad Manus propheticum Mosem evocavit, cum tanquam virum Hiero-

The mention of *Ægyptian learning* leads me naturally to consider, in the next place, your answer to this *Author's* cavil against the *divine institution of Circumcision*; which he would insinuate to have been borrowed onely from *Ægypt*. This objection you make *slight of*, and tell us, that there is *no ground for it* [a]; and tho' your *Adversary*, from the nature of his objection, must necessarily suppose the *scriptural account of Circumcision to be a fiction*; yet you very gravely spend two or three pages to prove that his notion cannot be true, because 'tis inconsistent with that *same Scripture*: from which you conclude at last, that the *Ægyptians had not any circumcision at all*. A likely method indeed to confute him, by excluding all testimony in the case, but what he excepts to, as *forged* for the very purpose. For you tell him [b], that *neither Diodorus Siculus, nor Herodotus, nor even Sancho-niatho, can be of weight sufficient to determine this question; tho' some conjectures may be raised from the last of the three*——Which way the conjectures you hint at would lead us, I shall not at present examine; but am sure, that of *the three* you name, *Sancho-niatho*, on whom you lay the greatest stress, is on all accounts the *least qualified or worthy* to suggest *any opinion*, or ground *any conjecture* at all upon: and as I have a respect for the *other two*, whom I have read with some diligence, I cannot suffer *their Authority* to be thrown off *so slightly*, without spending a word or two upon it.

Herodotus tells us then, that *all other mortals, except such as had learnt the thing from Ægypt, preserved their members as nature had formed them; but that the Ægyptians circumcised themselves for the sake of cleanliness* [c]. And in another place, that *the Phœnicians and Syrians who inhabited Palestine, (that is, the Jews) confessed, that they had received the custom of Circumcision from the Ægyptians* [d].

Hieroglyphicis Ægpti literis enutritum tractavit, &c. *De Legib. Hebræor.* T. 1. l. 1. c. 15. p. 211.

[a] P. 60.

[b] P. 56.

[c] Vid. Herod. l. 2. xxxvi, xxxvii. Edit. Lond.

[d] Ibid. civ.

Diodorus Siculus confirms the same thing; that this practice was originally *Ægyptian*, and that both the *Jews and People of Colchus* derived it anciently from them [a].

Strabo too declares, that *Circumcision* was one of the most famed and remarkable customs of *Ægypt*; but in use also with the *Jews*, who were originally *Ægyptians* [b].

Now of all the Writers, who at all touch this question, these are the onely ones I know of in Antiquity, that can be called unprejudiced, and whose credibility cannot be liable to suspicion either of malice or partiality in the case: and 'twas the authority of these that induced the *learned Marsbam*, and the *no less learned Spencer* too, to favour the opinion of your adversary; all which you still contemn as insufficient to ground even a *suspicion*, or raise a *conjecture* upon.

Josephus, who in his defence of the *Jews against Apion*, takes occasion more than once to mention this *testimony of Herodotus*, instead of censuring or attempting to confute it, argues from it as from a thing granted: *The Ægyptians*, says he [c], *are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh—wherefore Apion is a fool to abuse the Jews, for the sake of those, who not onely use the very customs he finds fault with, but who taught other people also the use of Circumcision, as Herodotus has informed us.* And in giving the character of *Moses*, as of an excellent Governour, and wise Legislator; never using the great power he was possessed of to any advantage of his own, but the sole benefit of those who had entrusted him with it, &c. Such an one, says he [d], whose intentions were so just and noble, might reasonably presume, that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor, and having once persuaded himself of this, he judged it necessary above all things to instil the same notion into the people; that every thing he did was directed by the will of Heaven; not acting herein

[a] L. 1. p. 24. Edit. Rhodomanni.

Hudl.

[b] L. 17. p. 824. Edit. H. Casaub.

[c] Εκείνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περι-
τμνούνται καὶ χοιρέων ἀπέχονται βρωμά-
των, &c. Contr. Ap. 1. 2. c. 13. Edit.

[d] Ἄλλ' οὖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀ-
χούσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀλλο-
νομοδίτας, &c. Ibid. c. 16.

A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing

the part of a Magician or Impostor, as some have unjustly aspersed him, but like the famed Lawgivers of Greece; who, to make their good designs the more effectual, used to ascribe the invention of their own Laws to the Gods; and more especially like Minos, who imputed all his Institutions to Apollo and the Delphic Oracle.

Such a declaration as this from *so learned a Jew*, in defending the excellency and pre-eminence of *his own Religion*, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified sentiments concerning its *divine origin*, as well as the *divine inspiration* of its *Founder, Moses*; which whilst asserted in that *absolute and unlimited* sense, that Divines of your zeal and principles contend for, will ever prove a stumbling block to men of understanding, and obstruct the advancement of Religion, by making its Authority questionable and suspected.

But laying aside Authorities, let's consider a little on which side the probability lies: *Ægypt* was a great and powerful nation, famed every where abroad, and valuing themselves highly at home for their *wisdom and learning*; so that the *Philosophers* and *Learned* of all countries used to travel thither, as to the *best School of Arts and Sciences*: *Pythagoras*, we read, brought all his knowledge from thence, and complied so far, as to be *circumcised* amongst them, on purpose to procure a more *intimate admission into their mysteries* [a].

The *Jews*, on the other hand, were an obscure contemptible people, famed for no kind of literature; scarce known to the polite world, till the *Roman Empire* dispersed them; and then the more despised onely for being known: they had been brought out of *Ægypt*, according to the *Scripture account*, in such a manner, as could leave no impression in their favor in the memory of the *Ægyptians*; or, as *profane Authors* say, had been *expelled* by them on account of some *filthy disease* [b]: Which then is the more probable;

[a] Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐξήνεγκε τὰ
τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης. Suidas. δι' οὗς καὶ
περιετίμετο, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

p. 354. Edit. Potter.

[b] Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta
per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora sordaret,
Regem

probable ; that a people valuing themselves so much on their wisdom, should borrow so remarkable a custom from a Nation they always hated and despised [a]; or that the *Lawgiver* of a *petty infant State* should copy that, as well as many other of his constitutions, from the practice of *a great and flourishing Kingdom*?

Besides, those who affirm *Circumcision* to be of *Hebrew original*, and thence propagated to other Nations, have no one Author of Antiquity to support their opinion, but such as take up with it on the credit of a tradition derived from the *scriptural account* of its institution : and as they are destitute of all Authority, so they cannot agree either on *the person* who first introduced it, or the *period of time* when it was so introduced into *Ægypt*. Some ascribe it to *Abraham* ; some to the credit and example of *Joseph* ; others to *Jacob and his Sons*, upon their settlement in *Ægypt* ; others to the traffick and intercourse between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, especially in *Solomon's* time, who had both a *strict alliance* and *commerce* with them. Now tho' all these opinions are wholly groundless and irrational, yet none of them seems so improbable, as that which you embrace ; that this custom was carried into *Ægypt* by *Abraham's posterity the Arabian Ishmaelites* [b] : for how can it be imagined, that a set of *wild Arabs* or *wandering Shepherds*, an *occupation abominable to the Ægyptians* [c], of all men the most barbarous and illiterate, could have authority enough with a *polite and learned Nation* to establish so *odious and painful a custom* amongst them ?

Moses, as is said above, was trained in all the *learning of the Ægyptians* ; which learning was employed more especially in the *study of Theology* : they were held the *first inventers of religious Rites and*

Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis Oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum & ad genus hominum ut invisum Deis alias in terras avehere jussim. Tacit. Hist. 5. 3.

Dicunt Ægyptii Mosem patriâ Helio-politem esse, unum e Sacerdotibus, ob le-

pram eam aliis pulsum. Jos. con. Apion. l. 1. c. 1. 2. Vid. it. Justin. l. 36. c. 2.

[a] Μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατε-
θέτες, καὶ ἤ μὲν ἅπαντες Ἀιγύπτιοι.
Joseph. con. Ap. l. 1. c. 13.

[b] P. 60.

[c] Gen. xlv. 34.

Ceremonies, of Poms and Processions [a]. And where was *this learning* of his more likely to exert itself; where could we so naturally expect to see its influence, as in forming the *civil and ecclesiastical polity* of his *new commonwealth*? But whatever effect it would naturally have, 'tis certain, that the strong inclination of the people for all *Ægyptian customs*, their eagerness to relapse on all occasions into *Ægyptian Idolatry*, of which we have so many instances in their history, would necessarily oblige him to indulge them, even against his will, in the use of many rites they were so fond of: his back was no sooner turned, than they prevailed with *Aaron* to make them a *Golden Calf*; which was nothing else but recalling the worship of the *Ægyptian God Apis*, represented always under that form [b]: and the setting up the *brazen Serpent* seems to have been done in condescension to the same humour; being an object they had been used to *reverence* in *Ægypt*; where, from the *Isac Table of Bembo*, the *Obelisks*, and other *Ægyptian* monuments, it appears, that the *Image of a Serpent erected in that manner on a pillar*, had extraordinary honors and a superstitious veneration paid to it [c]. And in fact, we see many customs and constitutions in the *Jewish laws*, which are evidently derived from this source. The *Ægyptians* were governed by *laws and customs peculiar* to themselves, and different from those of other nations [d]; were more addicted to *prodigies and miracles*, than any other people [e]; had *one High Priest*; as well as an hereditary Priesthood, descending from Father to Son [f]; suffered no *blemish or imperfection* in the beast they sacrificed [g]; were superstitiously nice and scrupulous about *washing and cleansing* themselves; nor durst appear at divine worship when

[a] Herodot. l. 2. lviii.

[b] Videtur mihi idcirco Populus Israel in solitudine fecisse sibi caput vituli quod coleret; ut quod in Ægypto didicerant Ἄπιν & Μνέυν, qui sub figura boum coluntur, esse Deos, hoc in sua superstitione servarent. Hieron. Comment. in Osee

Proph. c. 4.

[c] Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14. it. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

[d] Herod. l. 2. xci.

[e] Ib. lxxxii.

[f] Herod. l. 2. xxxvii.

[g] Ib. xxxviii.

defiled by the *touch of any thing unclean* [a]; would not suffer any *leprous person* to come *within the City* [b]; abhorred *swine's flesh as impure and abominable* [c]. All which customs of theirs and many more, that we meet with in the *Jewish Law*, as they seem the plain effects of *Moses's Ægyptian learning*, so they furnish still the more ground to suspect that *Circumcision* too might possibly have the *same origin*. *Spencer* on this very argument, declares, that *God, when he gave his Law, thought fit to tolerate and transfer into his own worship many customs and institutions which the people had been trained up to in Ægypt, the better to accommodate himself to their humours and affections* [d].

From considering the *origin of Circumcision*, you examine the *Author's cavils* to the thing itself: who thinks it strange, *that cutting off the Foreskin (not to be performed without great pain and hazard) could have been esteemed a religious duty acceptable to a good and gracious God, who makes nothing in vain, much less what requires cutting off, even with extreme danger and anguish* [e]

In answer to this; as to the *pain* of the operation, you represent it as *slight and inconsiderable*, and make no more of *cutting off the Foreskin*, than the *Navelstring* in Infants so young [f]. And as to the *Hazard* of it, you contemn the very thought, and jeeringly call upon him for a *list of such, as had ever died of it*. And here I cannot but expect, that he will return your own compliment upon you: what; *no genius for Literature! no acquaintance with common Criticks and Commentators!* for the commonest of them all would have informed you, that the *pain of Circumcision* was not onely very *acute and grievous*, but the *Hazard* of it too so great, that it often proved *mortal*. *Spencer*, in the words of *Maimonides*, tells us, *That it was not like a slight hurt of the leg, or burning of the arm, but a most harsh and dangerous thing, not to*

[a] Ib. xxxvii. xlvii, lxiv.

[b] Ib. cxxxviii.

[c] Ib. xlvii.

[d] Deum, cum legem daret, ritus & instituta non pauca tolerasse & in cultum

suum transtulisse, &c. de Legib. Heb. T.

1. 1. 1. c. 13.

[e] P. 63.

[f] P. 64.

be undergone without some hazard of life [a]. And Lightfoot informs us, that the frequent mortality it occasioned, produced a standing law; that when any person had lost three Children successively by the operation, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest; in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, who, in those circumstances, were esteemed still to be in all points as good Israelites, and even as perfect Priests as any of the rest. This perhaps will startle you, who have talked so rashly on a subject you were not acquainted with; and you'll be the more surprized to find a Positive Precept suspended by human Authority for civil and temporal ends; yet you will scarce except to my Author, who was both learned and orthodox, and to him I shall refer you for the list you insultingly call for of those who had died by the operation [b].

As to the other part of the *Carvil*, that *God does nothing in vain*; you answer; that the *Foreskin was not made in vain*; that in ordinary cases it was better to have it on, than off; but for extraordinary, it was wisely contrived, that there might be something to spare, something to cut off as occasion should require [c]: A most admirable Solution; which amounts just to this; that had not God wisely provided it, he could never have ordered it to be cut off.

But since *your Author* is so impertinent in demanding reasons for every thing, I wonder you would not oblige him with some of those, which your *favourites the Criticks* have collected on this very occasion; which since you have omitted, I shall take the liberty to supply, by presenting him with one or two furnished

[a] Nam non est levis aliqua cruris læsio vel brachii aduasio, sed res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vite discrimine quandoque subeunda. De Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 14.

[b] You will wonder, Reader, to hear that some Jews were always uncircumcised; yea, that some Priests not circumcised ministred at the Altar; and that without the complaint of any, and indeed without

any fault—Very frequent mention is made in the Talmudists of an uncircumcised Israelite, and an uncircumcised Priest—If the first, second, third son should die by Circumcision, those that were born after were not circumcised; and yet Israelites in all respects; Priests in all respects. Lightf. Vol. II. p. 760.

[c] P. 65.

by the same Lightfoot. The land of Canaan, says he, was bequeathed to Sem by his Father Noah; because Cham and his Son Canaan had derided Noah's nakedness: when therefore the land was to be settled on the right heirs of Sem; a Seal and an Assurance thereof is given in that member, which had been derided by Canaan to the loss of that land. This was a main reason why males alone were circumcised, and why in that member [a].

He gives the reason also why it was to be performed always on the eighth day. That as there were seven Nations in the land, which the Israelites were to subdue, so every child of Abraham for seven days was like the children of those seven Nations; but on the eighth was to receive Circumcision, the pledge of his claim to that land [b].

'Tis a thousand pities that this Adversary of yours has no relish, as you say, for this kind of Literature; no reverence for Criticks or Commentators; for could he be brought once to this taste, we should soon see an end of all his Scruples, nor be teized any longer with the impertinence of Cavils. Thus where the over-nice Gentleman, as you call him, is pleased to cavil at God's being said in Scripture so often to repent; you tell him, that there's not one Commentator of note, but would have set him right, had he been disposed to learn, before he set up to teach [c]. For these Commentators would have told him, I presume, the very same thing that you do in the words immediately following, viz. that God is unchangeable and repenteth not in a proper sense; but when he undoes what he had before done; or changes his first measures, as circumstances require, he is said to repent: that is as much as to say; God is really and in his own nature unchangeable, unless when occasion requires him to be changeable; nor ever changes his mind, but as oft as he changes his measures.

Strange force of Prejudice! that such a jingle of words without the least mixture of sense can pass with a man of learning, for a grave answer to an Objection so important.

[a] Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 464.

[c] P. 29.

[b] Ib. 465.

I shall next consider briefly your account of the *Confusion at Babel*: a story invented, as your Adversary would insinuate, by the *Author of the Pentateuch* [a], to account for the variety of languages observable in the world which he knew not how to solve by natural causes. But here again you tell him in your usual style, that he has not any reason or colour of reason. As to the story itself, every one must needs own it to be a *strange one*: Some writers allegorize it, to a meaning quite different from the letter; others interpret it so as to exclude all miracle [b]: but whatever we are to collect from it, 'tis certain, that it has never made any great impression on men of letters, however pious otherwise and religious; who in tracing the origin and antiquity of the several languages, seldom think it necessary to run back to *Babel*; but find the cause to be grounded in reason and nature; in the necessary mutability of human things; the rise and fall of States and Empires; change of modes and customs, which necessarily introduce a proportionable change in language.

'Tis from these principles, that men of learning have in fact demonstrated the causes, and deduced the history of most particular languages from their source and origin; not onely of those, which now obtain, but of such also, as tho' once flourishing, are now no longer in common use and practice; as the *Greek, Latin, Italian, French, &c.*

Many both of the Antients and Moderns, have endeavoured to prove; that the *Hebrew* was the first and common language of all, till in process of time, thro' the influence of the causes above hinted at, all other languages sprang out of it, as naturally, as many shoots from the same root, many branches from the same stock [c].

As these observations are grounded on fact, and the testimony of history; and all the variety of languages, that have ever obtained in the world, may be accounted for by ordinary and natural causes, which operate in the same manner at this day, and will

[a] P. 41.

[b] See Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere langue. p. 3, &c.

[c] Ut scire possimus linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matricem. Hieron. in Sophon. Proph. c. 3. v. 18.

always continue to do so as long as the world lasts ; as this, I say, is certain, we cannot but allow that there's some colour of reason in your *Adversary's* suspicion, that the *Author of the Pentateuch*, for want of reflecting on the natural causes of this variety, thought proper to have recourse to *miracle* and *the intermediate interposition of God* in order to procure the greater reverence and dignity to his history. Especially, since without any *such miracle*, as all men of sense will allow, the same effect must necessarily have followed from the *very dispersion and propagation of mankind*.

But to examine your answer to this *Cavil*. You say, that *Moses in that place is not accounting so much for the variety of languages (which was a trifle in comparison) as for the quick dispersion of the Sons of Noah over the face of the earth—Thorns and Briars were springing up every where, Woods and Thickets spreading themselves around, wild Beasts encreasing ; and all this while the Sons of Noah gathering together in a Cluster and designing to continue so, instead of dispersing to replenish and cultivate the earth. God would not bear their loitering, but interposed miraculously ; and by confounding their language, confounded their ill-contrived project [a].* What an absurd and ridiculous account of things is this ? The *Sons of Noah*, it seems, had formed a conspiracy to frustrate the design of Providence in peopling the world ; by *hanging together in clusters* ; resolving neither to *disperse* nor *cultivate the ground* ; and so must soon have been choaked up by *thorns and briars, woods and thickets*, or devoured by *wild beasts*, which were multiplying apace upon them, had not God miraculously interposed to prevent it. 'Tis well however for the *Scripture you are vindicating*, that it furnishes no ground for such a *vindication* ; but that all this nonsense is purely your own.

For from the Chapter you refer to [b], 'tis evident, that the *Sons of Noah* were so far from any such resolution of *not dispersing themselves*, that they had already begun to *disperse* ; had actually

[a] P. 42.

[b] Genes. c. xi.

sent off a Colony from the East to the Plains of Shinar. About an hundred years after the flood, says Calmet, when mankind found themselves too numerous, to be able to continue any longer together, they resolved to disperse themselves, and send out colonies into different countries [a]. For this is not to be understood, says Bishop Patrick [b], of all the Posterity of Noah; much less of Noah himself; but of a great colony of them; who when the East was much peopled, chose to go Westward. And again; they continued, says he, in the mountainous Countries of the East, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then descended into the Plain, and some of them went westwardly. And even those, who had marched into this Plain, were so far still from any thought of hanging together in clusters, that they knew and clearly saw that it would soon be necessary for them to disperse still further into other parts of the Earth, but had a mind, before such dispersion, to erect some publick monument of their common origin, by building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven; and it was the presumption and arrogance of this design, that induced God to baffle it by confounding their language [c], and to disperse them from that place, without suffering them to finish what they had projected. This is all that can be collected from this story, by any rational method of interpretation: and the story itself seems introduced for no other purpose but to account for the origin of the different languages that obtain in the world: nor is there the least ground for the notion of their hanging together in clusters, and resolving neither to separate themselves, nor cultivate the ground: a notion wholly extravagant and contradictory to sense and reason: for were it possible for them to form such a design, it could not be possible to execute it: a multitude daily growing cannot hang together in clusters; must of necessity disperse, in proportion to the encrease of their numbers; want of room will force them to seek new quarters; want of food to cultivate the earth: and you

[a] Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere langue, p. 3.

[b] Comm. on Gen. xi. 2.

[c] Quoniam de pena venit multiplicatio, mutatione linguarum. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 16. c. 12.

may a well tell us of *waters gathering together on heaps*, as of *multitudes gathering in clusters* to prevent their own dispersion. I know no animals, that hang so much *in clusters as Bees*, yet even these *disperse* themselves every year, and send out *colonies*, as oft as the *old Hive* becomes too narrow for the entertainment of their *encreased family*: the same nature, that pushes the infant forward from the *narrow womb* into the *wide world*, and from *childhood* stretches him out to *man*, will always oblige a growing people to spread and enlarge themselves as soon as their *clustering together* becomes uneasy and inconvenient.

I cannot imagine then whence you took this silly notion, unless from *the picture of Hobbes's Leviathan*; where we see just such a *refractory multitude* as you describe, all *clustered up together into one gigantick Figure*, as if resolved and prepared in that collected form to combat heaven itself.

After all; you conclude this article with great seeming complacency and satisfaction in the clearness of your solution; wondering what *possible Offence* your adversary can take at it, and defying him to furnish a *better rationale* of it than you have given. But, pray Sir, what has he to do to give *any rationale at all* of a story, which he does not believe? Or should he frankly confess that he cannot find a *better*, yet I would not advise you to triumph too soon, lest he should reply, that 'tis for that very reason he rejects the whole story, because there's no *better solution* of it than yours to be had; and he cannot take up with a *rationale*, that has not a *scrap of reason or sense* in it.

I shall not trouble myself with following you any further through your Answers to the *Objections of this Author*: I have already said enough to shew the Truth of what is above hinted, that the task you have undertaken of *vindicating the particular texts of Scripture* from *cavil and exception*; or *rescuing*, as you say, *the Word of God from reproach and blasphemy*, is much more likely to furnish matter for *new Scandal*, than extinguish the *old*: for this, as far as my experience has reached, has always been, and will for ever be the consequence of *this method of defending*

Religion: since 'tis built upon a *wrong principle*, and proceeds upon a *system*, that cannot be maintained, viz. that *every single passage of the Scriptures, we call Canonical, must needs be received, as the very word and as the voice of God himself*. This notion, which you every where inculcate, as 'tis false in itself, so must necessarily lead you into error and absurdity, and expose you to the contempt and ridicule of all rational men, who can never embrace an *Hypothesis*, however confidently asserted, which they see contrary to *fact* and the *plain conviction of their senses*.

'Tis the Observation of a *late grave Author*, much versed in reflections of this kind, that there's *no greater cause of modern infidelity, than that some opinions and rites are carried to such an immoderate height, as exposes the absurdity of them to all men of common sense; who out of indignation and an excessive renitence, not separating that which is true, from that which is false, are apt to fall into the contrary extreme, a contempt of all Religion* [a].

And what better effect can we expect from your present *vindication of Scripture*, where, at every objection, you give the alarm; of *affronting God to his face; bidding defiance to the undoubted truths of God; running into downright blasphemy; shooting up arrows against Heaven, &c.*? Your Adversary *cavils at Circumcision; it is fact, you say, that God did require Circumcision, and who art thou that repliest against God?* You tell us, that the *modest way* of opposing a *Revelation*, pretended to be *divine*, is not to examine the *internal merit* of its doctrines, but the *external evidence* of the fact [b]: but this is certainly losing time, and beginning at the wrong end; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that if *any narration* can be shewn to be *false*; any *doctrine irrational or immoral*; 'tis not all the *external evidence in the world* that can or ought to convince us, that *such a doctrine comes from God*.

For my own part, as I have no kind of interest to serve by the belief or establishment of any opinion, besides my private

[a] Religion of Nature delineated, p. 60.

[b] P. 64.

share in the good it may do to the Publick, so it is the study and business of my life in every enquiry, whether *Civil, Natural, or Religious*, to search for and embrace the *Truth*; or, where that is not certainly to be had, what comes the next to it, *probability*. And as in the present question, 'tis my persuasion, that this way of *vindicating Scripture* cannot possibly do any service, but probably much harm to the Cause you are defending; so I thought myself obliged by a regard to *Truth and the common Religion* we profess; to discourage, as far as I am able, the progress of a work, which is likely to be attended with such ill consequences: and if in *these Remarks*, (where I have endeavoured rather to shew the weakness of your reasoning, than declare any sentiments of my own) I have used any expressions of sharpness or severity, more than the nature of the Subject required, they are not to be charged on any envy to your merit, or spleen to your Person, but to an indignation raised in me, to see you *dictate so arbitrarily*, and *decide so dogmatically* in points of the utmost difficulty and uncertainty; and in questions where hardly *two Commentators* have ever agreed in the *same solution*, condemn all objections as *slight and trivial*; as the meer effects of *ignorance or malice*; and bestow the titles of *Fool*, and *Idiot*, on such as differ from you in opinion, either of the *Authority or Interpretation* of the texts you are handling.

Yet after all, what *wonderful conviction* have you wrought; what feats have you done, towards *rescuing the word of God from cavil and reproach*? In the *history of man's fall*, you have fixed an interpretation upon it, which Bishop *Patrick* declares to be both *simple and incredible*. In the case of *Circumcision*; instead of shewing your *Adversary's ignorance*, you have betrayed your own; by denying that to be *painful or hazardous*, which for the *pain* of it was often *mortal*; nor allowing the *least colour of reason* to an objection grounded in *probability*, and confirmed by *express testimony*. Lastly, in the story of *Babel*, all that you have said is little better than *jargon*; *unsupported by Scripture*; *contrary to reason*; and must needs appear ridiculous to all men of understanding.

And

And now, Sir, I leave you to contemplate the merit of your great achievements; a pleasure which has, I'm afraid, been somewhat interrupted by the roughness of this Address; and to shew my own impartiality, and that I am drawn into this controversy by no other motive but a sincere love to truth, and a sincere resolution to embrace it where-ever it is to be found; I shall proceed to use the same freedom with *your Adversary*, by sketching out a *Plan or rough Draught of such an Answer* to him, as would in my judgment be the most effectual to confute and overthrow his whole Hypothesis.

The Design of this *Author* is to shew, that the *Christian Religion*, as 'tis now practised amongst us, is not onely *useless*, but *mischievous*; that the *Light of Reason*, or *Religion of Nature*, is the *only Guide* we ought to trust to; being *a perfect and complete rule of duty in all cases, both towards God and Man*; and consequently, that *Christianity ought to be abolished*, and *Reason* advanced in its place as the *Publick and National Religion*.

That this is the *main design of his Book*, there needs no pains to prove; 'tis evident to all who read it; and the *Author himself*, I dare say, will not deny it. On this foundation then, his whole scheme may easily be shewn, even upon *his own principles*, to be both *irrational* and *immoral*: *irrational*, because *impossible to be reduced to practice*; *immoral*, because, *if possible*, yet *pernicious and hurtful to the Publick*.

The first may be proved, by the testimony of all ages; which teaches us, that *Reason*, whatever force and strength it might have in particular men, yet never had credit or authority enough in the world to be received as a publick and authentick Rule either of *Religious* or *Civil Life*; this is allowed by all the *great Reasoners* of the *Heathen World*, and the experience of its insufficiency as a *Guide of Life*, is given by many of them as the very cause of the invention and establishment of *Religion*: that *the authority of the latter* [a], *might restrain those whom the former had been found too weak to*

[a] Ut, quos ratio non posset eos ad officium Religio duceret. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. 1. 42.

keep in order. The life of man, according to Euripides [a], was once like that of beasts, governed by force and violence; laws were then contrived to repel injustice; but when these proved still insufficient, Religion was at last invented. By whose mysteries, as Tully observes [b], men from a savage life became formed and cultivated, as it were, to humanity.

'Tis then a confessed maxim of the Antients, that Reason had not light or force enough to guide mankind in a course of *Virtue and Morality*: in consequence of which we find in fact, from the records of all History, that there never was a nation in the world, whose publick Religion was formed upon the plan of Nature, and instituted on the principles of meer Reason: but that all Religions have ever derived their Authority from the pretence of a *Divine Original*, and a *Revelation from Heaven*. This our Author himself in many places acknowledges, declaring, that there never was a time or place without some traditional Religion or pretended Revelation [c].

Such an universal consent must needs be owing to an universal conviction and experience of the insufficiency of Reason; and seems to be the voice of Nature disclaiming it as a Guide in the case of Religion: and thus our Author's Scheme, by the confession of all Antiquity, and even by his own, must appear foolish and irrational, in attempting to set up that for a perfect rule of life, which from the nature of things never was or could be received as such in any age or country whatsoever.

Should he then gain his end, and actually demolish Christianity, what would be the consequence; what the fruit of his labours, but confusion and disorder; till some other traditional Religion could be settled in its place; till we had agreed to recall either the Gods of the old World, Jupiter, Minerva, Venus, &c. or with the Idolaters of the new, to worship Sun, Moon and Stars; or in-

[a] Vid. Plutarch. de Placitis Philosophor. l. 1. c. 7.

exculi ad humanitatem & mitigati sumus. Cic. de Legib. 2. 14.

[b] Quibus ex agresti immanique vita

[c] P. 184. 229. Christian. as old, &c.

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stead of *Jesus*, take *Mahomet* or *Confucius* for the *Author* of our *Faith*? And hence may be demonstrated the *immorality* also of his *Scheme*, even upon his own *principles*.

For should we allow *Christianity* to be a *meer Imposture*, on a level onely with all the *other Impostures* that have obtained in the world; it would not be difficult to shew from the *dictates of Reason*, that an attempt to overturn it, as 'tis now *established by Law*, derived from our *Ancellors*, confirmed by the belief and practice of *so many ages*, must be *criminal and immoral*.

The *Moralists of the Heathen World*, tho' they clearly saw the cheat and forgery of the *established Religion*, yet always persuade and recommend a submission to it; well knowing what mischief must needs befall the State by the subversion of constitutions so greatly revered by the people. *Socrates*, when condemned to die on pretence of *subverting the Religion of his Country*, denies the charge, and appeals to all who knew him, whether he did not constantly comply with the *Publick Worship* [a]. And *Cicero*, as our *Author* himself allows, often *presses upon his countrymen a strict observance of all the religious Rites established by Authority*, and declares all those *worthy of the last punishment, who should attempt to disturb them*. And tho' he was himself an *Augur*, yet he is so far from *dissembling* on that account, as this man foolishly insinuates [b], that he declares the whole *business of Augury* to be a *meer fiction*; and tho' it might have been *received at first on an opinion of its real use in Divination*, yet *when that opinion was worn off, it was wisely retained for the sake of Government*, and the *influence it had on the peace of the Republick* [c].

[a] Xenophon. Apolog. pro Socrate.

[b] P. 396.

[c] Non sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. De Div. 2. 33.

Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Clodius, & L. Junius, qui contra Auspicia navigaverunt—parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus, &c.

Ibid.

Existimo jus Augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea Reipublicæ causâ conservatum. Ibid. 35.

Ordinar ab Haruspicina, quam ego reipublicæ causâ, communisque Religionis colendam censeo. Ibid. 12.

The *Athenians*, upon rebuilding their City destroyed by *Xerxes*, enquiring of the *Oracle*, what *religious Rites* they should revive, were answered, such as the custom and laws of their Country had consecrated [a].

The Philosopher *Protagoras* having declared in a book of his, that as to the *Gods*, whether they really existed or not existed, he had nothing to say; the *Athenians* banished him their territories, and ordered his book to be burnt [b]. And 'twas the fear of the same punishment, that restrained *Epicurus* from speaking his mind freely on the same subject; and tho' he believed nothing of the *Gods*, yet obliged him in words at least to allow their existence [c]. *Euripides* too, as *Plutarch* informs us [d], when for fear of the Court of *Areopagus* he durst not openly ridicule the Religion of his Country, contrived to do it covertly under the feigned characters of persons introduced in his Plays. And when *Diagoras* went so far as openly to deride their mysteries, they proclaimed a great reward to any one, who should kill him [e].

These were the *maxims*, these the *principles*, which the light of Nature suggested, which Reason dictated; and from these instances our Author may see how his Attempt would have been treated by a people the most famed for learning and politeness of any of the Heathen World: It would have been thought worthy of the last punishment; his book burnt; himself banished.

And this may serve withal to shew his ignorance of Antiquity, in magnifying, as he does on all occasions, the moderation of Pagan Governments, in opposition to Christian; that they indulged an universal liberty, never persecuted for Religion, never

[a] Cic. de Legib. l. 2. 16.

[b] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 23. *Protagoras*, cum in principio libri sui sic posuisset, de Divis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere; *Athenienfium* jussu, urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti, De Nat. Deor. l. 1. 23.

[c] Video nonnullis videri, *Epicurum*, ne in offensionem *Athenienfium* caderet, verbis reliquisse Deos, &c. Ib. 30.

[d] *Plutarch* de Placitis Philosoph. l. 1. c. 7.

[e] Διαγόρα τάλαντον ἐπέκρουζαν ἕως αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, &c. *Joseph*. contr. Ap. l. 2. 37. it. *Suid*, in *Diagor*.

quarrelled about their Gods [a]: for he quite mistakes the matter; 'tis not the Believers of Religion, but Infidels and Atheists, who in every country have always been the severest persecutors, and cruellest oppressors of all Civil as well as Religious Liberty. For as this life is their all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more severe in suppressing every innovation in practice or opinion, which might tend possibly to disturb their repose; this is the constant observation of all who are versed in history, especially in that of the Jews; where the Pharisees, however strict in the Observance of their Religion, were always mild and gentle in the Seat of Judgment; whereas the Sadducees, tho' little concerned for Religion, were most implacable and rigorous animadvertisers on every slight transgression of the Law [b].

Were Christianity then to be treated as a mere Imposture; on a level onely with the other Impostures, that have been received in the world; yet in this view we see plainly from the dictates of Reason and our Author's own principles, that an attempt to subvert it is both irrational and immoral: but should we consider it as the best of all other Religions; the best contrived to promote publick peace and the good of Society; and what our Author in his own book has demonstrated, as coming the nearest of all others to his perfect law of Reason and Nature: Then his crime will be aggravated in proportion, as he seeks to destroy a better system of Religion, in order to introduce a worse; since, as is said above, some traditional Religion or other must always take place, as necessary to keep the world in order.

'Tis the tendency of actions, says he [c], which makes them either good or bad: those, that tend to promote human happiness are always good; those, that have a contrary tendency, always bad: and this he declares to be a never-failing rule, to judge of actions by their tendency [d]: let's judge him then by his own rule.

The tendency of his book is to abolish Christianity, and set up

[a] P. 101.

[c] P. 345.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. 1. 13. 10. it. 20. 8.
it. de Bell. Jud. 2. 8.

[d] P. 350.

Reason in its place; the thing it self is *impracticable*, the attempt therefore *foolish and irrational*.

The *tendency* of it is to disturb the *publick peace*, by overturning a *Religion* derived from our *Ancestors*; established by publick *Authority*; revered by the people; 'tis *mischievous* therefore, and *dangerous to the Society*.

The *tendency* of it is to abolish a *rational and well formed system of Morality*, to establish a *less perfect one* in its place; 'tis therefore *criminal and immoral*. Thus without entring into *particulars*, or undertaking to *vindicate all the single texts* excepted to, which can serve onely to *multiply cavils and perpetuate disputes*, our *Author's general Scheme* may at once be confuted, and that by the most effectual and decisive way of confutation, the consequence of *his own principles*.

The general doctrine, which our *Author* professes to establish, is, that the *Christian Religion is nothing else but a Republication of the Law of Nature*, and cannot be true and obligatory any farther, than as it corresponds entirely with that original *Law*: and for this he has produced the concurrent testimony of *all our principal Divines*, establishing the same opinion as expressly as he himself had done; and that they are sincere in this declaration, and actually practise what they preach, he himself allows and effectually proves in many instances. *I have shewn you*, says he [a], *by a number of instances, where Divines themselves own, that though the literal sense of Scripture be ever so plain, yet it must not stand in competition with what our Reason tells us, &c.* And again, *Do not all interpret Scripture so, as to make it agreeable to the touchstone of all Religion, the Nature and Reason of things* [b]?

What's the meaning then of all this clamour? What is it that he quarrels at? Our *Divines* not onely agree with him in his *general principle*, but actually put it in execution, and reduce it to practice. Why, because there are still behind a *few things*, (mark the expression, for 'tis *his own*) *a few onely, which their*

[a] P. 262.

[b] P. 425.

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superstition has made them interpret otherwise [a]. This is the ground of all that spleen, which he so frankly exerts against the whole order of Priests; that tho' they agree with him almost in every thing, yet dare to differ from him in any thing; and presume to interpret a few things so, as not to satisfy his supreme and perfect Reason.

Here we see a specimen of his *candor* and *equity*; here the fruits of that *benevolent principle*, that *charitable Religion*, which the *light of Reason* prescribes; that *Governments must be disturbed, Churches dissolved, Priests proscribed*, because they will not in every point submit to his *infallible Reason*. What he says of Dr. Rogers may much more justly be applied to himself. *The Doctor is against the Pope of Rome, but 'tis to set himself up in his stead [b].* For the *Pope*, we know, indulges his followers in many *particular Superstitions* of their own, if they will but swallow the *main and gross* of his doctrines; but this *rational Protestant* will not suffer even *his Teachers*, tho' agreeing with him in the *main*, to dissent from him in a *few particulars*. And *is not this*, to use his own words, *Popery, even worse than Roman Popery [c]?*

The *fundamental maxim* on which his whole attempt and all his hopes of success from it seems to rest, is, that *God cannot enjoin as a part of Religion, any arbitrary or positive precepts*, which do not directly flow from *the reason and nature of things*: or what comes to the same, that he cannot oblige us to any thing as a duty, whose *natural excellency and tendency to Morality* we do not immediately discover by *Reason and the Light of Nature*. This is the *main article* of his *rational Creed*; this the *single point*, as he says, *that must decide the question [d]*; for which reason I thought it necessary to spend a word or two upon it.

And here again, instead of squabbling with him about the real or comparative excellency of *the Precepts* he refers to, I shall pursue the same method, of turning *his own artillery* upon him, and endeavour by his own reasoning to confute *this favourite*

[a] P. 347.

[b] P. 306.

[c] P. 307.

[d] P. 114.

position of his; which may be done, I think, by the *very arguments* he makes use of to establish it. Of which I shall produce two instances.

The first is an argument formed from the *similar conduct* of God towards us, in the contrivance of his *visible Works*, and of his *Laws*. If God's *Works*, says he [a], *shew infinite Wisdom*, there's no reason to imagine but that his *Laws* do the same, &c. And in concluding the argument, God forbid, that any of his *Laws* have not impressed on them the same character of the highest Wisdom and Goodness, that is impressed on the whole frame of Nature, and on every part of it.

Now to prove any thing from these premises, the argument ought to run thus: God forbid, that in the whole frame of God's *Laws* there should not be the same proof of his Wisdom as in the whole frame of his *Works*. This is the onely conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison of his *Laws* and *Works*; in which every rational Christian must needs have agreed with him. But then this so far from proving what he infers from it, that it proves just the contrary, and overturns the *main principle* of his book. For though the wise of all ages have from the *excellency of God's Works* collected the *excellency of his Nature*; yet in those *very Works*, generally so excellent, all still agree, that there are some *particulars*, not onely whose nature, but whose use or reason of existence cannot be discovered by the most curious searchers into Nature; nay, some things which, considered separately, appear even *noxious* to the rest; all which, tho' not understood, are yet reasonably presumed to be good and perfect in their several kinds, and subservient to the general beauty and excellency of the *whole System*.

The case, we allow, is exactly the same with God's *Laws*; which, though in general they demonstrate the *infinite Wisdom of their Author*, yet may in some particulars be so contrived, as that the natural excellency of them cannot easily be apprehended. For were it otherwise, 'tis certain, that God would act *differently* with us, in the dispensation of his *Works* and of his *Laws*, in

both which this Writer contends for *the necessity of a similar conduct.*

'Tis then full as unreasonable to charge all *positive precepts*, supposed to be from God, that is, all whose *use and relation to Morality we cannot comprehend*, to fraud and imposture; as in the *visible Works of God* to impute every thing we do not understand, or even every thing that seems *hurtful*, to the contrivance of some *malicious Power*, opposite to the *Divine Nature*. And as on the one hand we do not exclude from the *catalogue of God's Works* all those particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of *Divine Wisdom*; so on the other, we cannot exclude from the *body of his Laws*, those *few injunctions*, which seem not to have impressed on them the *legible characters of Morality*.

The second argument is in the following paragraph, and runs thus. 'Tis impossible, says he [a], that men should have any just idea of the perfections of God, who think that the dictates of infinite Wisdom do not carry their own evidence with them; or are not by their own innate worth discoverable to all mankind: were it not so, how could they be distinguished from the uncertain opinions of weak and fallible men? &c. This indeed seems opposite to what the Scripture informs us of the counsels of God: that his ways are not as man's ways, but unsearchable and past finding out: and 'tis not contrary onely to Scripture, but to Reason too: for what difference could there be in Nature between perfect and imperfect; finite and infinite knowledge; if the finite could clearly discover every purpose of the infinite? Both Reason and Scripture teach us, that God knows and sees thro' the heart of man; but no man's reason before this ever taught, that Man knows and sees thro' the heart of God: that man, whose knowledge is so narrow even in the common concerns of life, can fathom all the counsels, interpret all the laws of an infinitely wise Creator. Thus his own argument turns against himself. If the dictates of infinite Wisdom, says he, are not discoverable to all mankind, how could they be distinguished from

the opinions of fallible men? Whereas on the contrary, were it true what he contends for, it would be more difficult to *distinguish* them: for if all the *designs of God* were as *discoverable to man*, as *man's are to God*, he might well say, *where's the distinction?* But there's no one truth more certain, or flowing more necessarily from the *reason and nature of things*, that tho' *God* perfectly understands every purpose of man, yet that there not onely may be, but really are many things, effected by his power and ordained by his will, which *Man* is not *capable of comprehending*.

This is the substance of what I would propose for an *Answer to this Author*; which when explained more at large, and filled out by proper testimonies and authorities of other Writers, might be sufficient to confute his *general Scheme*, as well as the *fundamental principle* on which 'tis built. But to shew farther, that whatever be the real excellency and perfection of *Reason*, yet *his reason* at least is very *defective* and *imperfect*, and can have no pretence to set up for a *Guide in Religion*; many instances may occasionally be interspersed:

1. Of his *blunders in points of History*: for tho' he often affirms, that *Heathenism* never taught men to quarrel about Religion, except in *Egypt*; nor ever raged to that degree, as to occasion bloodshed, wars, and persecution; yet *History* would teach him, that the politest people, as well as the greatest lovers of liberty, of the *Heathen World*, the *Greeks*, had their *Holy Wars*, their *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, as well as *Christian Zealots*: particularly one against the *Phocensians*, of which *Philip of Macedon* was chosen Head [a].

2. Of his *inconsistency* with himself; when at some times to blacken the *present state of the Church*, he appeals to the *primitive Ages* and *primitive Fathers* as actuated by quite different prin-

[a] Demosthenis Orat. contra Æschin. dit; illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem Religionum, &c. Just. Hist. l. 8.
p. 95. Edit. Foulkes & Friend. Incredible quantum ea res gloriæ Philippo de-

A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing

ciples of *piety and simplicity* [a] : at other times, to blacken the *whole state of Religion*, he reflects upon *those very Ages*, held, as he says, *for the purest*, as the most *impure and corrupt of all*, and *that the farther we go back, the more frauds we shall find* [b]. In the same manner, to make the *Christian Priests* more odious, he represents the *Pagan and Mahometan Priests* as very Saints in comparison ; at least as harmless innocent creatures, who *never did any mischief* [c]. Yet at other times, to make the *very character and name of Priest* abominable, he declares them to be *all alike ; all equally wicked ; of all Religions the same* [d].

3. Of his *malice to the Clergy* ; whom he describes every where as an *Order of men, profligate and abandoned to wickedness ; inconsistent with the good of society ; irreconcilable enemies to reason ; conspirators against the liberty and property of mankind* [e] : whilst yet he shews by many instances, that the whole employment of their profession is to *explain Christianity so as to make it agreeable to the reason and nature of things* : as if those could be *enemies to Reason*, who are constantly *preaching it up*.

4. Lastly, of his *obstinate perseverance in errors*, once embraced : this appears from *his repeated charge of forgery on the Church, in the case of the 20th Article* [f] : tho' the charge has so oft been confuted and shewn to be groundless by such undeniable evidence as can leave no farther room for scruples with any reasonable man.

Thus, Sir, I have *sketched out the rough draught of such an Answer* to this Author, as in my judgment is the most likely to destroy his credit with all who pretend to reason : my comfort at least is, that if it does no good, it cannot do any harm : whereas in your method of treating the controversy, you run *too great*

[a] P. 109, 313, 319.

[b] P. 162. [c] P. 108.

[d] P. 233, 282, 160.

[e] P. 47, 108, 160, 163, 164, 180,

241, 281, &c.

[f] P. 160.

a risk; expose Religion to too great hazard; and engage on too great odds with your Antagonist. For should he fail in his attempt, he loses nothing but reputation by being baffled, nor hurts the general cause of reason by exposing the weakness of his own. But the case is different with you; 'tis the cause of Religion, that rests on your shoulders; and the success of it in some measure depends, on the success of your performance: for whilst you excite the attention of the Nation to your Vindication of Scripture, should that Vindication fail in any part, you so far expose the Scripture itself to contempt; give a real triumph to its enemies; confirm them in their infidelity; and inject probably new scruples where none had been entertained before. Leaving it therefore to your serious consideration, whether you ought to proceed any further in so hazardous an undertaking,

I am, &c.

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *W A T E R L A N D*;
Against the false and frivolous Cavils of
The A U T H O R of the R E P L Y.

———*Fragili quærens illidere dentem*
Offendet solido———H O R.

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L E T T E R
T O

Dr. *W A T E R L A N D*, &c.

S I R,

T I S with no small reluctance that I have prevail'd with myself at last to take notice of *your Reply to my Letter to Dr. Waterland*: Your Criticisms upon it are, either so trifling, or so false, that I was perfectly secure of their making any impresson to my disadvantage on men of sense or learning: and as it has been my care, in what I have hitherto offered to the Publick, to consult both the profit and pleasure of my Reader, so I was loth to sit down to a Controversy unlikely to afford either; to dispute onely about words, and squabble about the grammatical construction of separate Scraps and Quotations.

However, since nothing else that deserves the least attention has appear'd on the occasion but *this Reply* of yours, which by the solemn gravity of its stile, and the air of authority it breathes, may possibly pass with some for a learned and judicious performance,

mance, I have thought proper to give it a particular examination ; especially as it will afford me an opportunity of explaining myself more clearly in some points where, contrary to my intention, I may perhaps have given offence ; and of opening by the way some questions of great importance, toward settling Christianity on its true and natural foundation.

The clamour you raise against me is for *attempting to weaken the authority of Moses*, and your Title page like an Alarm bell gives warning thro' the Nation of an Enemy gone out to lay waste and destroy Revelation, and propagate Infidelity ; and yet I defy you to shew any thing advanced in *my Letter*, for which I have not the authority of the best and most rational Apologists, both ancient and modern, as well of the *Jewish* as *Christian Religion*. 'Tis not my design to destroy or weaken any thing but those senseless systems and prejudices, which some stiff and cloudy Divines will needs fasten to the body of Religion, as necessary and essential to the support of it. For in this age of Scepticism, where Christianity is so vigorously attacked, and as it were closely besieged, the true way of defending it, is not to enlarge the compass of its fortifications, and make more help necessary to its defence, than it can readily furnish ; but like skilful Engineers, to demolish its weak outworks, that serve onely for shelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to batter it the more effectually, and draw it within the compass of its firm and natural entrenchments, which will be found in the end impregnable.

You say, that *Dr. Waterland's character as a learned and rational advocate for Christianity drew down the weight of my wit and reading upon him, and that he had done too much good, not to receive ill at the hands of the favourers of Infidelity [a]*. But is not this both rash and uncharitable, to assert so roundly what you cannot know to be true ; that the ground of my quarrel to the Doctor is *the good he was doing Christianity* ? 'Tis possible, Sir, that my name may not always continue a secret, and whenever I

[a] Reply, p. 6.

shall have the honour of being known to you, if I be not thought incapable of quarrelling with any man for *the good he does*; and if my life be not found as exemplary and agreeable to the rules of the Gospel, as that of the most zealous champion of you all; then will I allow every thing you can say or suspect of me to be just and reasonable.

In the mean while I condemn your groundless charge of *Infidelity*; declare myself a *true friend to Christianity*; which I am able, I think, to defend by principles much more rational and consistent than those you seem possessed of; as will appear very clear in the sequel of this controversy. And I must withal declare, that I have no quarrel at all to Dr. *Waterland*, but on the contrary a great respect for his known learning and abilities; am persuaded onely, that whatever good he designed, his way of defending Scripture is very sure of doing mischief to the common Religion we profess: this I have shewn in *my Letter* to him by several instances, and could have shewn it in as many more had it been necessary, with no other view, than to divert him from pursuing a method of defence so dangerous to the cause he was vindicating: but since my Remonstrance has made no impression on him; and he has now thought fit to second the blow he had given, tho' I am still the more confirmed by his last performance in the sentiments I had declared of the first, yet I shall hardly give myself or him any farther trouble, as it could serve onely to illustrate and spread the scandal already given, by collecting and pointing it out to the Reader; which I have no inclination to do any farther than I may be obliged to it by the Doctor or Yourself in vindication of my own credit and judgment.

In all Controversies about Religion, the chief provocation to men of sense is to see a set of rash, dogmatical Divines, whose minds, prepossessed with systems, and darkened with prejudices, could never see thro' the mists their Nurses and Mothers had spread about their eyes, setting themselves up for the onely guides and teachers of truth to the Nation; requiring the learning and reason of mankind to submit to their arbitrary decisions, and
branding

branding with the name of *Sceptick and Infidel*, all who cannot admit their manner of explaining and defining the terms of Christian Faith. Such Divines as these are so far from acting up to the character they assume, of *Physicians of the soul*, by shewing any care to gild the pill they prescribe, and temper their medicines to the state and condition of the Patient, that they expect to treat rational creatures, as Farriers do their Horses, tie them up by the nose, and so make them swallow whatever they think fit to throw down: These are the men I shall ever quarrel with, as the Tyrants and Oppressors of Reason and Conscience, and consequently enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind.

But 'tis time to open the state of our present Controversy: *Your business*, you say [a], *with me is not to enter into dispute about the Reasonings advanced in my Letter, but to set before me and expostulate with me about the many falsehoods it abounds with, both in quotations and historical facts.* And here we see the first specimen of your art and insincerity; for tho' you pretend not to meddle at all with *my Reasonings*, yet a great part of your performance is wholly employed in examining them: nor do you ever omit the least opportunity of cavilling at them, as far as you dare venture, which is generally out of your depth, as we shall frequently see in the progress of this dispute: But 'twas prudent to secure a retreat beforehand, that whenever you come to be push'd, you might shelter yourself under this previous declaration, that it was not *my Reasonings*, but *my Quotations* you had undertaken to attack.

Again, as to the *many falsehoods of my Quotations*, you betray at setting out a strange disingenuity, for you undertake to *convict me of having hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his true sense, very often in a sense most opposite to the true one* [b]. A compleat victory indeed! not to leave *one Quotation* alive! not to let a single one escape, but to treat these *Rebels to Religion*, like *Catiline's Rebels* to the State, mow them all down in the very ranks where they stand. But this is pursuing onely the old rule Ca-

[a] Reply, p. 6.

[b] Reply, p. 7.

lunny; to *calumniate strongly, without any regard to truth, that something at last may stick*: for tho' you wou'd prepossess the Reader with the notion, that I have not represented so much as *one Quotation truly*; yet out of about *four score*, which are referred to in my *short Letter*, all you pretend to criticise are but *fifteen*; and of this number *two* are thrown in merely to enhance the reckoning, and do not at all relate to *my Quotations*, but contain onely some cavils to *my Reasonings*.

Lastly, as to the *many falsehoods of my Historical Facts*, which you proclaim me guilty of in your *Title page*; the whole number you contest with me amounts onely to *one*: and tho' to save your credit you would fain stretch it to *two*, yet your second instance concerns no fact at all, but my solution onely of a fact, about which we both join issue, *viz. the Mosaic account of the Confusion of Babel*. Is this agreeable to the gravity and character you assume of an Advocate of Christianity? or can it do any good to the Cause of Religion to defend it by such artful methods of Calumny; and in the very act of exposing, as you pretend, my want of veracity, to give the real scandal of so notorious and wilful an insincerity?

But to proceed to the examination of your several Criticisms; which I shall take notice of in the order as they offer themselves, neither evading nor palliating the force of any of them.

You begin your attack by charging me with four instances of falsification in as many examples of quotations made from *Cicero*; and accuse me not onely of prejudice and partiality, but of quoting him for *saying what he really does not say*; nay, what he *disclaims and declares against* [a]; and conclude by lamenting that this *Great Master of Reason should have so unworthy a Follower as Myself*. This you confirm as to the two first instances, by shewing that I have imputed to *Cicero*, what he speaks onely under the person of *Cotta* and under the fiction of a *Dialogue*, and what must not therefore be considered as his own opinion.

[a] Reply to the Letter, p. 9, 10.

A Defence of the LETTER

But you must needs be little acquainted with *Cicero's Dialogues*, to imagine that under these feign'd characters he does not frequently represent his own real thoughts: *You will wonder*, says he, in his letter to *Varro*, prefix'd to his *Academick Questions*, to find a *Conversation described between you and me which we never held together, but you know the manner of Dialogues* [a]: and in the Preface of his *Book of Old Age*, he tells us, that he had assign'd the principal part to *Old Cato*, in order to give the *greater weight and authority to his own sentiments* [b]. Now in this Book about the *Nature of the Gods*, whence my two Quotations are taken, *He* has instituted a *Dialogue* between three persons, of the three different Sects of Philosophy of most credit at that time in the world; *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Balbus the Stoick*, and *Cotta the Academick*: which last from the Principles of that Philosophy undertakes to confute the Notions of the *Stoicks*, about *Religion* and the *Gods*: and does not every one who knows any thing of *Cicero*, know that he was of the *same Sect*; a constant Follower of the *Academy* in his real Judgment? so that if there be any thing in that *whole Dialogue*, which can be called *Cicero's own* more peculiarly and properly than the rest, 'tis the very part and character assigned to *Cotta*: for in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side, and uses the same arguments, which he had put here into the mouth of *Cotta*, to confute the opinion of the *Stoicks* about *Religion* and *Divination*. Where then does he disclaim the passages I have quoted? why no where; but on the contrary in other places confirms them; and declares onely in general in the close of this very Conference, that the *argument of Balbus or the Stoick seemed somewhat the more probable* [c]: which may well be looked upon as a compliment to *Brutus*, to whom he addresses this very book; for as *Brutus* was a *Stoick*, it was but a proper civility in a *Dialogue* dedicated to him, to give a

[a] Epist. Fam. l. 9. ad Varron. 8.

ritatem haberet Oratio.

[b] Sermonem tribuimus non Tithono
— sed M. Catoni seni quo majorem aucto-

[c] De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ad fin.

slight preference to the Principles he professed; as we find him to have actually done on another occasion, in allowing the Philosophy that *Brutus* followed to be the best [a], tho' himself was of a different Sect.

But you carry the point still farther, and tell us, that the sentences here quoted are so far from being *Cicero's*, that they are not even *Cotta's*; who owns at last, that all he had been saying was not built on any certain judgment, but proposed only for argument's sake, in which he was willing to be confuted. And here whilst you fancy yourself pushing your adversary, you betray onely your own ignorance: for every one conversant in Antiquity cannot but know, that it was the peculiar character and distinction of the *Academy*, *Nullum Jusdicium interponere*; to deliver nothing dogmatically, to declare no judgment of its 'own; to follow onely the *probable*; and beat down every thing advanced as *certain or self evident* [b]. *Cotta* therefore, tho' agreeably to the Principles of his Sect, he might wish to be confuted, that is, to have some greater degree of probability offered to him, than what he had before acquiesced in; yet must be supposed in the mean while to have embraced and approved the Sentiments he had been asserting in this Dispute as the most probable.

Your Cavil to my next Quotation is still more ridiculous, for tho' 'tis truly taken from *Cicero*, yet 'tis found there, you say, in the mouth of an *Objector*. Where I must own my self puzzled to guess what you would be at: for you no sooner start the Cavil, than confute it yourself; telling us that *Cicero says the same thing in another place*, and in answering the very objection acknowledges the truth of it [c]: but is a fact then less true for being proposed as an *Objection*? nay is there not the greater presumption of its weight for being offered in that form? and if it be true, which

[a] Qui tum in Philosophia, tum in optimo genere Philosophiæ tantum pro-
cesseris. De Fin. l. 3. init. sophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nul-
lamque rem judicandi, &c. Nat. Deor. 1.
init.

[b] De Divin. l. 2. 3. Hæc in Philo- [c] Rep. p. 11.

is all I'm concern'd for, 'tis entirely the same thing, whether it be put as a *Question*, *Answer*, or *Objection*: 'tis put, it seems, in *Tully* as an *Objection*, and 'tis put just so in my *Letter*; where I shall leave it in its place, without losing more time about a Criticism so impertinent.

Your last instance of Falsification charged on me from *Tully*, is the mention of a *Dream of Alexander the great*, about a *Serpent's speaking* to him, which *Tully*, I say, *makes merry with*. To this you give a double Answer: First, That tho' *Cicero had laugh'd at such a Dream*, yet 'tis no more a consequence than that *my left hand is my right*, that he would have laugh'd at the Story of a *Serpent's really speaking*, when attested so credibly, as 'tis by *Moses*. Secondly, that in fact, *he did not laugh at the Dream at all*, and that 'tis all a merry invention of my own [a]. And so far I agree with you, that what he ridicules is not so much the extravagance of a Dream, a thing common with every body, as the pretended miraculous effect of it, and the foolish credulity of those who look on such Dreams as sent from God. But I insist upon it withal, that he laughs too at the fancy of a *Serpent's speaking*, and that especially when it had *its mouth full*; but as this was not the case of *Moses's Serpent*, you think it clear, that had he *met with the Story so well attested by the gravest and most antient of all Historians*, he must needs have believed it.

This indeed is a curious and ingenious Problem, worthy the meditation of so judicious a person as your self, whether *Cicero would have believed this Story or no*: and tho' I have neither leisure nor inclination to discuss it with you at present, yet cannot help offering a hint or two which may be of use in so important an enquiry.

Cicero then asserts on all occasions, that our belief or opinion of things ought not to depend on *Testimony or Authority*, but on the weight and moment of *Reasons*: condemns the *Pythagoreans* for their *Ipse dixit*, or implicit faith in their Master *Pythagoras*: and declares it *unworthy of a Philosopher or Man of Sense* to appeal to

such Witnesses as may be suspected to have falsified, or feigned the Facts they relate; and to shew the Truth of things by *extraordinary Events* instead of Arguments [a]. These, Sir, were the Sentiments of *Cicero*, and I must leave it to your contemplation, whether a person possessed of such notions could easily take up with a Story so surprizing and prodigious on the single Testimony of an Author, who lived above *two thousand years* after the fact, tho' he *pretended*, as you say, *to be inspired*.

But since you have thought fit to call this Story again upon the stage, and vouch for *Cicero*, that he would have believed it on the *same good Authority that Jews and Christians do*; pray tell us, Sir, after all, what it is that we Christians are obliged to believe of it: Must we believe it to be all an *Allegory*? No; 'tis the *Allegorical Interpretation* that has drawn this clamour upon me of *weakening the Authority of Moses*, and *favouring Infidelity*. Must we believe it to be all *Literal*? No; we are not allowed to do that, since there's certainly much *Mystery* in it. What then are we to do? why, we are to consider it neither as *Fact* nor *Fable*; neither *Literal* nor *Allegorical*; but *both* together: to interpret one sentence *literally*; the next *allegorically*; the third again *literally*, and so on to the end of the Chapter; which like the very *Serpent* it treats of, is all over spotted and speckled, here with *Letter*, there with *Mystery*, and sometimes with a dash of both.

For instance; *God made Man*, we accept *literally*; but *after his own image* in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* sense: that *God made Woman*, we believe *literally*; but out of the *Rib of Man* most interpret *allegorically*: *God planted a Garden or Paradise*; here Commentators are endlessly divided between *Letter* and *Allegory*; some will have it to be in *heaven*, some on *earth*, others in a

[a] Non enim tam auctores in disputando, quam rationis momenta quærenda sunt —nec probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoricis accepimus, quos ferunt, si quid affirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis quæreretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos,

Ipse dixit—De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

Hoc ego Philosophi non arbitror testibus uti; qui aut casu veri, aut malitia falsi, fictique esse possunt. Argumentis et rationibus oportet quare quidque ita sit docere; non eventis, &c. De Divin. l. 2.

A Defence of the LETTER

middle region between both. Again; the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the field, we understand literally; but this subtle creature no sooner accosts Eve, than he becomes an allegorical Beast; the old Serpent; the old Deceiver, Satan. Lastly, as to the punishment denounced on the Offenders, I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel; 'tis all Allegory, all a great Mystery.

Now is it not more rational to follow one uniform, consistent way of Interpretation, than to jump at every step so arbitrarily from *Letter* to *Allegory*: and if the *Letter* be found in fact contradictory to *Reason* and the notions we have of *God*, what is there left us but to recur to *Allegory*? for which we have the authority of most of the *Primitive Fathers*, and the best *Jewish Writers*: and the *allegorical way* of expounding was so far from giving scandal in former ages of the Church, that on the contrary, to slight it was looked upon as heretical and full of dangerous consequences [a].

Philo, the most learned and orthodox defender of the *Jewish Religion*, treats this very History of the *Creation and Fall of Man* as wholly *allegorical*. By *Paradise*, says he, *we may suppose ænigmatically signified the governing part of the Soul, full of various opinions, like so many Plants; by the Tree of Life, Piety towards God, the greatest of Virtues, by which the Soul is made immortal: by the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, our common Understanding, by which we distinguish things contrary to each other in nature, &c.* And when he comes to the story of the *Serpent*; *These things*, says he, *are not like the fabulous Fictions*

[a] Propter has causas omnia quæ de Paradiso dicta sunt spiritualiter intelligentes Interpretes, quorum meminimus, dixerunt, quod diversæ natæ sint hæreses a quibusdam hominibus qui carnaliter audierunt, quæ de Deo et Paradiso dicuntur, &c. Vid. Bibliothec. Patrum, per Marg.

de la Bigue. Par. 1589. Tom. 1. p. 270.

Sunt inter Hæreticos qui contendunt minimè convenire, ut Vet. Testamenti scripta mysticè atque aliter quam de rebus ipsis interpretentur, &c. ibid. p. 409. c. 3.

of Poets and Sophists, but figurative or typical Lessons of Instruction, inviting us to search for the Allegorical Sense, by the discovery of its latent and hidden meaning: in which whoever follows the most probable conjecture, will find the Serpent, as 'tis aptly called, to be the symbol of Pleasure [a]: &c. whence he goes on to give the same Allegorical Interpretation of the whole, which I have done in my Letter.

Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that all Writers, whether Barbarians or Greeks, who have ever treated of Theology, have industriously obscured the beginning and origin of things, by delivering the truth in Ænigma's, Symbols, Allegories, Metaphors and such like figures [b]. And in another place, that the whole Scripture is written in the Parabolical Stile [c], for which he gives several reasons.

Eusebius shews, that Moses's History of the Creation, of Paradise and the Fall of Man, was delivered by him in this *recondite and symbolical way of learning*; and that Plato, (changing onely the names, as of Paradise into the Garden of Jupiter, &c.) has copied the whole Story, and *allegorised* it just as Moses had done before him [d]; of which he gives likewise some other examples.

And that the *Primitive Writers* in general esteemed the *symbolical or figurative interpretation of Scripture*, to be on many occasions the onely method of *vindicating it*, is very certain and undeniable: for instance, the *Mosaic Laws* about *Animals clean and unclean* were considered by them as wholly *allegorical*, full of a *hidden and mystical meaning*: *The Law*, says Philo, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof; now if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it, but if according to the inward meaning, there is a most clear and necessary one, &c.* which he goes on to explain [e].

[a] Philo de Opificio Mun. p. 35, 36, &c.

γραφῶν, ib. l. 6. p. 803.

[b] Strom. l. 5. Op. T. 2. p. 658. Edit. Potter.

[d] Præpar. Evang. p. 343. Edit. R. Steph.

[c] Παραβολικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῶν

[e] De Agricult. p. 206.

A Defence of the LETTER

When Moses told the People, says Barnabas, that they were to abstain from such and such Animals ; the Command of God does not import a real Prohibition to eat ; but Moses spoke spiritually, and by prohibiting Swine's flesh meant onely to say, thou shalt not keep company, or join thy self to such Men, as in their manners are like to Swine, &c. [a]

Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Laëtantius, &c. follow Barnabas's interpretation : Tertullian goes further, and says, that nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food: and Origen still more freely; that if we take them literally, they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men, as of the Romans, Athenians, Lacedemonians ; nay, that some of them are contrary to reason and impossible to be observed [b].

Thus far then you must needs allow me to be orthodox ; clear of any attempt either against the *Authority of Moses*, or in *favour of Infidelity* ; unless you will involve in the same crime with me the most pious and learned *Fathers of the Church*, and the ablest *Defenders of Christianity* in all Ages : Let us see how just your charge upon me is in the following Articles ; particularly that of the *Jewish Circumcision* ; where you next examine what I have advanced in relation to *its divine Origin*.

You affirm in the first place, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old, &c. that Circumcision was borrowed from Ægypt [c]*. But, pray Sir, where have I declared that I think so ? All that I endeavour or intended to shew, was the rashness and unreasonable of those Divines, who assert its *divine Origin* in a stile so *dogmatical and overbearing* as cannot fail of giving disgust to Men of candour and learning ; not allowing the least *colour of reason* to the contrary opinion, but treating it as the meer effect of malice and ignorance ; a way of defence so contrary to good sense and good manners, that the cause of Religion must needs suffer by it.

[a] S. Barnab. Epist. c. x. p. 30. Edit. Coteler.

[b] Vid. ibid. Cotelerii Not. 42.

[c] Reply, p. 13.

However, Sir, had I really thought, what you impute to me, 'tis not at least in your power to convince me of an error, as we shall soon see by the weak attempt you make towards it. For in considering a Quotation of mine from *Josephus*, you say, *'Tis plain that Josephus does not speak there of any Egyptians circumcised, but Priests onely; and that if I had translated him right, my Argument would have been spoiled; and that for your part, you gather from what Josephus says of Herodotus, that he understood Herodotus to mean that the Egyptian Priests onely were circumcised: whence you form immediately an Hypothesis out of your own brain; that these Priests of Egypt taught the Priests of other Nations to be circumcised, on pretence that it was necessary in such onely for the sake, not of Cleanliness, as I render the word καθαριότης, but of Purity, or internal Holiness, just as it was among the Jews [a].*

But now, Sir, if the contrary to this be true in every particular; if the *Ægyptian People in general, and not the Priests onely were circumcised*; if *Josephus understood Herodotus in that very sense*, and lastly, if *Circumcision* was used by them just as I have said, for the sake of outward Cleanliness, and not as your Criticism imports, inward Purity; what will you say for yourself; what excuse will you make for giving me so much trouble? Will not the Reader begin to suspect that with all this Gravity you are but a Pretender to Learning, without any sound share of it; that the Knowledge you are master of, is supplied from Scraps and marginal Citations, without any thorough acquaintance with Antiquity, or the Authors you refer to? and as oft therefore as you are engaged to treat a question to the bottom, like a Man fighting in the dark, instead of beating your Adversary, will oftner be found beating the Air and bruising your own Knuckles against Posts or Walls? of which we shall see many an instance before I've done with you.

For suppose that I had allowed the very thing that you contend for; that the *Priests onely were circumcised in Ægypt*; how would my Argument have been spoiled by it? Was it impossible for

[a] Rep. p. 15, &c.

Moses, who was bred up among those very *Priests*, and instructed in *all their Learning*, to have copied *Circumcision* from them, and yet extend it further afterwards by imposing it on the People too? but not to dwell on Hypothesis, let us enquire into the Fact.

The Authors I have quoted, the oldest, who give any account of *Circumcision* [a], *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, mention it always as a custom common to the whole Nation, without giving the least hint or reason to believe that it was confin'd to *Priests* alone. *Agatharcides*, as quoted by *Photius*, says expressly that *all the Ægyptians were circumcised* [b]: and *Suidas* hints the same in the word ψάλλει. *Strabo* indeed adds, what is confirmed likewise by other Writers, that the *Women were also circumcised* [c]: which fully confutes your Notion, and shews the Practice to have been general.

A Question indeed may arise about the obligation to it; whether it was of absolute necessity or not to all; and there may possibly have been some distinction between *Priests* and *People* on this account: but that it was commonly and generally practised by all, can admit of no doubt from the concurrent Testimony of all Authors: and 'tis certain that as the *Jews* would receive none to the *Passover*, but the *circumcised*; so the *Ægyptians* admitted none else to their *religious Mysteries* [d]; so that *Pythagoras* was forced to be *circumcised*, to procure admittance to their recondite and *symbolical Learning*: whence 'tis probable, that it was considered as a kind of *religious Test*, which the *Priests* and all who expected any benefit from Religion or Office in the State were obliged more peculiarly to comply with.

The next point is, whether *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* to mean that *Circumcision was peculiar to the Priests*. And if it be true in fact, as is shewn above, that it was not *confined to Priests*, and that *Herodotus* has given no ground for such a distinction; your

[a] Jerem. ix. 25. neque Ægyptiis utilis est &c. Just. Mart. Dial. 192.

[b] Photii Biblioth. p. 1358. ex Agatharclide, c. 30.

[c] L. 17.

[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. c. 15. Edit. Potter. Vid. it. Cotelerii Not. in Barnab. Epist. c. 9.

notion must fall of it self. *Josephus* indeed, in the place referred to, may be understood of a peculiar obligation or absolute necessity which the *Priests* were under to be *circumcised* above all other Men; but on another occasion, where he appeals to *Herodotus*, for affirming the *Ægyptians* to be the *Authors of Circumcision* to all other People, and even to the *Jews*, he makes no other reflection upon it, than that of *such things every one may say what he thinks fit* [a]. A modern Author, of more zeal than judgment, says on the occasion; *Josephus* has taken notice of the words of *Herodotus*, but I could have wished, that he had called him to account for them, and not passed them over so coldly—This did not become *Josephus*, on other occasions so stout an Advocate of the Honour of his Nation [b].

Again, You say, that the *Ægyptians* did not use *Circumcision*, for the sake of *Cleanliness*, as I render the word καθαριότης, but of *Purity*: an Observation wholly groundless; it being certain, that the main intent of the custom was, not to make them more *holy* or *pure*, but more *sweet and clean*; in order to prevent some bodily distemper or inconvenience frequent in those warm Climates; which is alledged by Writers as the cause and natural reason of the same practice in all the neighbouring Countries [c]. But besides; the Passage itself, as it stands in *Herodotus*, can suggest no other notion; and all others, who have ever quoted it, have taken it in the same sense that I do; for 'tis ranked in company with such Customs as relate solely to *external Neatness* or *Cleanliness* [d]; viz. the *washing themselves twice each day, and as oft each night in cold water*; the *constant washing their Cups*; their *Vestments*; and the *shaving their Bodies* to keep them clear of *Lice* and other *Vermin*, &c.

[a] Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἑκάστοις λεγέσθαι ὅτι αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. Antiq. l. 8. c. x. §. 3.

[b] De Repub. Hebræor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 70.

[c] Ægyptii, Æthiopes, alique ex oriente populi rationes regioni vel religioni suæ proprias habuerunt, quibus diu ante tempora Abrahami ad virilium pelliculas

præcidendas inducti censeantur. Nam Philo & alii circumcisionem inter gentes aliquas consilio civili primùm introductam putant, ad præcavendam scilicet lepram aut carbunculum, e sordibus sub præputio latentibus oriri solitum, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1 c. 5. §. 4. p. 58.

[d] Vid. Herod. l. 2. 37.

But you still blunder on and tells us, that the notion of the *Ægyptians* was just the same with that of the *Jews*, amongst whom it was considered as an *Emblem of Purity* [d]: in which you shew as little acquaintance with *Scriptural or Jewish History*, as you do with the *Ægyptian*: For 'tis clear from Scripture that Circumcision was not given for the sake of *Purity*, but as a *Sign and Seal of a Covenant* between God and his People; as an *outward Mark* to distinguish those who were under that Covenant, from all other Nations whatsoever. This is the account we have of its Institution as well from *Scripture* as the *Primitive Fathers*. *You shall circumcise*, says God to *Abraham*, *the flesh of your foreskin*, and it shall be a token of the Covenant between me and you [a]

Abraham, says *Justin Martyr*, received Circumcision as a Mark or Sign, and not as of any efficacy towards Righteousness or Holiness as both Scripture and Fact itself oblige us to allow [b]. And *Irenæus*, That God gave it not as of any service to Justice or Righteousness, but for a Mark to distinguish *Abraham's Posterity* [c]. The Reader will make a proper Reflection on a Criticism grounded in meer mistake both of *Jewish* and *Ægyptian Antiquity*.

But the Sting is, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c.* which is so far from being a Reproach whenever he thinks right, as he certainly does in some things; that it would be much more for your credit to do so too, than to spend your time and pains in maintaining *vulgar Errors and pious Prejudices* against plain Fact and History: but if you would do me right, you should represent me, as thinking with *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Philo, Josephus, Photius, Sir Jo. Marsham, Dr. Spencer*, and even *Calmet* too, whom you recommend to my perusal; who, tho' he labours like yourself to support the common Hypothesis against Fact and Testimony, yet is so fair at the same time as to allow a

[d] Reply, p. 16.

[a] Gen. xvii. 11.

[b] Dialog. cum Tryph. par. 1. p. 184.

Edit. Thurlb.

[c] Quoniam autem circumcisionem non quasi consummatricem justitiæ, sed in signo eam dedit Deus, ut cognoscibile perfeveret genus Abraham &c. Adv. Hær. l. 4. c. 30.

great colour of Reason, a great ground of Probability to those who assert the contrary opinion, which is all that I have ever declared for.

We are now arrived at what you call my *Masterpiece of Quotation*, viz. a passage of *Josephus* referred to in my *Letter*, in which I make him give up, as you say, *the Divine Mission of his own Legislator Moses* [a]. Here indeed you seem greatly moved, and employ all your Rhetorick to move me too; calling upon me in the most solemn manner *for the sake of sincerity to retract my rash assertion, and to consider the whole Quotation over again, in which there's nothing, you say, that even seems to deny the Divine Origin of the Law and the Divine Inspiration of its Founder, but what arises from my Misrepresentation; that such a thought was as far from Josephus, as attention or sincerity was from me* [b].

I am come therefore, Sir, in obedience to your call, to review the whole Passage, and to consider very seriously and attentively not *the Translation*, as you absurdly call it, but *the short Abstract* I had given of the sense of the place in a manner agreeable to the form of a *Letter*, in which an exact or verbal Translation must needs have appeared stiff and aukward: and upon a most careful Examination both of the Original and my Account of it, I am so far from being sensible that I have misrepresented my Author, that I am the more clearly and perfectly convinced that I had before given his true Sentiments; and that *Josephus* in the place referred to does not insist on any *supernatural or divine Authority of Moses*, but ascribes all the great things done by him to his own *personal skill and management*, putting him on the same foot with *Minos and the other old Lawgivers of Greece*; and giving him the preference onely on the comparison for *the superiour Excellency of his Laws*. This, Sir, I will maintain against you or any Man else to be the Sense of the Passage in question; and if I fail to make it good, desire at least, that it may not be imputed to any insincerity, but incapacity and mere ignorance of the *Greek Tongue*; since with all the Skill I am master of, I can draw out of it no other

[a] Reply, p. 16.

[b] Reply, p. 21, 22.

meaning but what I am going to explain: and I don't question but to convince every sensible Reader, that 'tis not I, who would warp and force the Words of *Josephus* to any meaning different from their own, but you; who being first warp'd yourself with prejudice, and prepossessed with Systems, which you hold sacred and inviolable, cannot relish any Truth, but what you can bend and accommodate to those previous Notions: But in order to set this Question in a clear light, it will be necessary to insert the entire Paragraph; where I hope the Reader will excuse the tediousness of a Translation, which I am forced by your Cavils to present him with, desiring onely, as 'tis a matter of some Importance, that he will give it a candid and impartial Attention. The whole Passage then runs thus.

Let us consider then in the first place the Greatness of Moses's Actions. He having gathered together our Ancestors, after they had resolved to leave Ægypt and return to their native Country, into a mighty Body, brought them with safety thro' many and almost insuperable difficulties. For it was necessary for them to march thro' a Country without Water, and wide tracts of Sand; and all the while to fight their way thro' their Enemies, with their Children, Wives and Baggage to take care of. In all which Circumstances he approved himself a most excellent General, a most wise Counsellor, a most true and careful Guardian of them all. He brought the whole Multitude to depend wholly on himself; and tho' he had them entirely obedient in every thing to his Command, he turn'd all this to no particular profit or advantage of his own; and in that very opportunity, which other Governors chiefly make use of, to establish themselves in Power and Tyranny, and with that view indulge the People in a loose disorderly way of Life: He on the contrary, in this height of Authority, thought himself bound to live religiously and piously and shew great Benevolence to the People; thinking by that means the most effectually to demonstrate his own Virtue, and provide in the best manner for the security of those, who had chosen him their Leader. His Intentions then being so laudable and his Actions so great, he justly believed that he had the Deity for his Guide and Counsellor: and having first persuaded himself, that all he

was doing or contriving was agreeable to the Will of God, he thought it necessary above all things to instill the same notion into the People: since those, who are persuaded, that God overlooks their Life and Conduct, will not venture on any thing illegal or sinful: Such an one was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer or Impostor, as some unjustly asperse him, but such an one, as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and the other Lawgivers after him: for some of them imputed their Laws to—but Minos ascrib'd his to Apollo and his Delphic Oracle, either really believing so themselves, or fancying by that means to make the People submit to them the more easily. But which of them (Moses or the others) has drawn up the best Body of Laws, and which had best pretence to be persuaded of God's Assistance (or otherwise, which of them has hit upon the best and justest Notions of a God) may be decided by comparing the Laws themselves; of which 'tis now time to give some Account: There are then throughout the World infinite differences of particular Customs and Laws, which yet we may reduce to these general Heads. Some have thrown the form of their publick Affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few or an Oligarchy; others into the Multitude or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these; but, if a Man may use an expression so forc'd, made the form of Government be instituted, a Theocracy [a].

This, Sir, is a faithful Translation of the whole Passage in the clearest manner I am able to render it; and to shew the insignificancy of your Cavils, I have in all those places where you find fault with me, given the very turn and force to the expression which you require: and yet there is not in the whole Paragraph one word in favour of the *divine Mission*, or *Inspiration of Moses*, in that sense of it, in which 'tis vulgarly received; but on the contrary, all the Glory of his great Actions, as well as of his Laws, are ascribed to *his own Virtue, Skill and Address*. In the first Part, which contains a short Abstract or general Character of his Actions, we find not the least hint of any *Miracle* or the *immediate Interposition* of God; we are not told, how the People must have been

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cut in pieces, when overtaken by *Pharoah at the Red Sea*; had not God miraculously opened a Passage for them thro' the midst of it: how they must have perished for want of Water; had not God for their Refreshment made it *to flow out of a Rock*: how they must have starved for want of Food in the Desert; had not God in a wonderful manner *sent it down to them from Heaven*: but the saving of them thro' all these Difficulties, thro' *want of Water, want of Food*, is here solely imputed to the Care and Conduct of *Moses*, and wholly turned to his particular Praise; till we come to the place you chiefly insist on; viz. that *Moses with such laudable Designs and such great Actions reasonably believed that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor*. And what is there in this to support the Notion of such a *particular Inspiration*, as is commonly ascribed to *Moses*? What is there in this Persuasion of his, but what every good Man in the same Situation, must needs be persuaded of too? A Magistrate convinced of the Being of a God and a Providence, and conscious, that every purpose of his Heart intends the Honour of that God, and the Good of the People he governs, cannot help believing himself to be under the special care of the Deity. This flows from the very reason and nature of things, and can never be otherwise: God, as surely as he exists, must necessarily favour such a Man, and every such Man must as necessarily be convinced that God does so favour him. And this is all that *Josephus* can mean; since he grounds the Persuasion *Moses* had of being under the *particular Guidance of God*, not on any facts of *special Revelation* or *divine Inspiration*, but *on the consciousness of his own upright Intentions*, backed by the great success of his Actions. And such a Persuasion will always have more or less influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Constitution more or less inclined to *Superstition* or *Enthusiasm*, (the peculiar Character of the *Jewish Nation*) which is apt to impute every laudable Thought, and every successful Action to the special Suggestion and Assistance of Heaven. And we see from what follows, that *Josephus* thought it possible for Lawgivers to be possessed of such a belief, without any good ground for it; since he makes it a question, whether

the *Grecian Legislators* were really persuaded, like *Moses*, or onely pretended to be so, of the *immediate Assistance of Heaven*; but whether they were or were not, 'tis certain however at least, that they could have no *real Inspiration*.

But the Sense I contended for is yet more clearly demonstrated by what follows: *That Moses having first persuaded himself that every thing he was doing was agreeable to the Will of God, thought it necessary above all things to instil the same Notion into the People*; because such a Notion instilled would naturally engage them to be better Men and better Subjects. Now if all is to be taken literally, just as 'tis represented in the Sacred Scriptures, what occasion could there be for any such care or thought of *Moses* about *propagating this Notion among the People*? The thing must have been done to his hands without any contrivance of his at all: the Miracles he daily wrought must necessarily convince the People of it: who could not see *the Glory of God descending and talking with him* so oft in the midst of them, without knowing that *every thing he did was agreeable to the Divine Will*. As *Josephus* therefore in this place imputes the *instilling this Notion* into the People to the *Skill and Address of Moses*, he could not intend to persuade us that this was done by the help of *real Miracles*, for they leave no room for any such Management or Address, but do the business of themselves without it; but by *pretending to Miracles* where there really were none, and *deceiving the People* by a shew of something like them into an opinion that they were actually done. This is the Method, that all other *Lawgivers* in the World have ever taken, as oft as they have wanted or *thought it necessary to instil the same notion into the People*; and 'tis indeed the onely Method it can be done by, since if any one had the *actual power of Miracles*, he could have no occasion to project or think at all about it; the thing must necessarily follow of course; and by a constant series of miraculous Events, the Notion obtain of itself among the People.

But to obviate all offence, which I have no intention to give, I must beg the Reader to remember always and take along with

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him, that I am not declaring here any Sentiments of my own, or examining what was the true Fact and real Case of *Moses*; but what *Josephus*, from the Passage we are now considering, must necessarily either think himself, or desire that others should think of it; which will be more clearly explained still by what follows.

Such an one, says he, *was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer*; that is, not one, who did the Miracles he pretended to by any magical Art or infernal Power: *nor an Impostor*; who used the pretence of Miracles to cheat and deceive for his own Gain or Advantage; but *just such an one as the Greeks boast their Minos, and other Lawgivers to have been, who ascribed the invention of their own Laws to the Gods*: And here you lay, I find, a great Stress on the Word *boast*, *αὐχῶσι*, as if it gave a contrary turn to the Sense, from what I have represented, and carried in it the Notion of Falshood and Lying; and that *Josephus* intended to signify, *that Moses really was, what they boasted onely, or falsely pretended their Lawgivers to be* [a]: A Distinction childish and ridiculous! since 'tis certain both from the use of Language and common Sense, that the word *boast* or *brag of*, as 'tis applied here to Men famous and excellent in their Generations, can have no other Signification than to *be proud of*, or *celebrate with Praise*; and the full Import of the Sentence is, that *Moses was such an one as Minos, and the other Legislators, whom the Greeks are so proud, or make such a boasting of*.

And, pray Sir, after all, what is it that the *Greeks boast so much of* in these very Men? Is it that they were *really inspired by* the Gods in the Contrivance of their Laws? No, there was hardly a *Greek* of Sense, who ever believed it; or had their Laws been dictated by the *Delphic Oracle*, would have believed it the more for that; as I could easily shew from Antiquity: All that they boasted and admired so much in them, was, that after they had contrived an excellent Body of Laws, they had the Address to persuade the People, that *those Laws were dictated by the Gods*; that under the Influence of such a Persuasion they might submit

[a] Reply, p. 21.

to them the more willingly. Do not the *Roman Writers* boast highly of their *Numa*, as of an excellent Prince and wise Lawgiver; and for Proof of his Wisdom do not they tell us the Contrivances he used to instil the Notion into the People, that his *religious Institutions were suggested by the Gods*? But they were not so silly as to believe the Fact itself to be true: that he *really was inspired by a Goddess*, or received the *Ancile or holy Shield from Heaven*: These things they celebrate as the Instances of his Skill and Policy, in order to procure the greater Reverence to his Laws: And such an one *Josephus* in this Place describes *Moses* to have been: Just as *Diodorus Siculus* had done before him; whose Words, as they are very much to our present Purpose, I cannot forbear inserting: *The same kind of Fiction*, says he, *is said to have been used in many other Nations, and to have been the occasion of much good to those who believed it. Among the Arimaspi, Zathraustis pretended to have received his Laws from a good Spirit or Genius; among the Getæ, Zamolxis from the Goddess Vesta; among the Jews, Moses from the God called, Iao: Whether imagining that every Invention or Thought beneficial to Mankind was really wonderful and divine, or that the Multitude out of regard to the Excellence and Power of the supposed Authors of their Laws would be the more readily induced to obey them* [a].

But in the next Words, *Josephus*, you say, puts a wide difference between the *Jewish* and all other Lawgivers: And so I own he does, by affirming *Moses's Laws to be much better than theirs*; which he proceeds to demonstrate by a Comparison of the Particulars: and from this superior Excellency of his Laws he infers a superior Right to propagate the Notion of their coming from God: so that his Argument runs thus: *Moses was no Magician or Impostor; but a wise and excellent Man, just such an one as Minos and the other Lawgivers of Greece; these imputed their Laws to the Gods, as Moses had done before them; but Moses had a much better*

[a] Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 84. Edit. Laur. Rhodom.

right to do so than they, because his Laws are much better than theirs. Every one will see the force of this Reasoning ; for whoever is conscious to himself, that he has formed the best Body of Laws, has certainly the best pretence either himself to imagine, that he had the *Affistance of God in them* ; or to deceive the People with the Notion of his being so assisted : for as the sole end of such Deceit is the *Good of the People*, he must needs have the best Title to make use of it, who had the *greatest Good* to propose.

But the last Article of *this Master-piece of Quotation* is still the strongest towards clinching the whole, to the Sense I have been establishing : for 'tis said, we see, that *Moses in projecting a frame of Government for his People, had no regard to any other kind then subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, but made his Government a Theocracy* : Now this is a short Explication of all that went before : for how is it in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy* ? Is it possible for a Prince or State, by calling upon or devoting themselves to God, to engage him to take upon himself the *absolute, immediate*, and as it were *personal Direction* of their particular Affairs ? Yet this, we see, is ascribed to *Moses*, that he *made a Theocracy*, which, as far as it was his pure Act and Deed, as 'tis here described, can bear no other Sense, than that he managed matters so, as to persuade the People that every thing ordered or effected by publick Authority, was done by the *immediate Appointment and Direction of God*. This must needs have been *Josepbus's Notion of the Jewish Theocracy*, as far as we can collect it from his Words ; let's apply it then to a particular Instance.

Moses was to build a *Tabernacle* or House of publick Worship for the People : What was then to be done ? Why, if as in other Countries he had been a *Monarch*, he would have called for his Workmen, pitched upon a Plan and ordered the Work to be executed : or had he been the Presiding Magistrate in a Commonwealth, would have done the same thing with the Consent and Authority of the People : But he had made his Government a *Theocracy* ; and 'twas *God* therefore who must name the Workmen :

men: and God, we read, accordingly pitched upon Two, the most famed, we may imagine, for their Skill in Building and all kinds of Workmanship [a]: For as *Josephus* says of this very Fact; *God chose the very same Persons, which the People would have done, had the Choice been left to them* [b]. What then do the Workmen do? Why in any other State, under the Inspection of the Magistrate, they would have formed a Model of their Work, and contrived the Patterns of all its Vessels and Furniture; but as this was a *Theocracy*, they durst project nothing of themselves, durst not venture on making even a *Table* or *Candlestick*, but by the immediate Order of God, and a *Pattern* given from Heaven.

This was the *Theocracy* that *Moses* contrived; where you, Sir, may believe if you please, that with all his Wisdom he was not able to direct the building a Chapel; nor the best Workmen in his Camp to make a *Candlestick* and *Snuffers* but by *divine Inspiration*, and after a *Model* given by God: But you must not expect to persuade us, that *Josephus* believed so too: since the contrary is very evident; and that he had a mind at least to leave a liberty and latitude in explaining the manner of this *Theocracy*.

Upon the whole; had you known how to expound a Paragraph rationally, by considering the general Sense of the whole, and then connecting one part with the other; you might have saved me much Trouble and yourself the Shame of exposing your want of Judgment by such senseless Cavils: and instead of this Outcry against me, must have praised rather the Temper and Modesty of the Inference I draw, in recommending onely *more moderate and qualified Sentiments* of the *divine Inspiration* of *Moses*, than what are vulgarly received: for according even to your own Interpretation, does not *Josephus*, in the Passage just recited, use much more Reserve and Caution in asserting the *marvellous and supernatual* part of *Moses's* Character, than what his *literal* His-

[a] Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. it. xxxvi. 1.

τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης. Antiq.

[b] Ὅως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐπελίζατο, l. 3. c. 6.

any does? And if so, the Inference is certainly just, that it might be a hint to us, to use the same *Reserve and Moderation* too in thinking and speaking on the same Subject.

But you say, that *Josephus in this place was as far from the thought of any such Inference as I make, as Attention or Sincerity was from me when I read it; and if ever I had read his Jewish Antiquities, I must know that he never represents the Law but as given to the Jews by God himself, thro' the hand of Moses [a].* I have read his *Jewish Antiquities*; and from that very reading have collected the contrary; that his real Sentiments of the *divine Inspiration of Moses* were very little different from what is represented above. For tho' he undertakes in that Work to deduce and connect a *perpetual History of the Jews* from the beginning of the World, as 'tis found in the *sacred Records of the Old Testament*; yet he takes such liberty with many of the facts there recorded, by *suppressing some, altering and accommodating others* to the ordinary Taste and common Sense of Mankind, as he neither could or durst have done, had he believed them to have been *really and strictly effected by God* in the very manner as the *literal Text* imports: to give one Instance out of many.

After his account of the *Passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea*, he subjoins this Reflection: *I have given every particular of this Story just as I found it in the Sacred Books: but let no Man be surprized at the strangeness of it, that such an ancient and innocent People should find a way opened for their escape thro' the Sea, either by the special Will and Interposition of God, or the accidental Concurrence of Natural Causes. Since in a like case as it were of yesterday the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander of Macedon, and opened him a Passage, where there was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Persian Empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his Actions. But for these things, let every Man take them in what Sense he best likes [b].*

[a] Reply, p. 22.

ὡς ἐκάστω δοκεῖ διαλαμβάνετω. Antiq. lib.

[b]—ἵτε κατὰ βούλησιν Θεῷ εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον, &c.—πρὶ μὲν τούτου

2 c. 16. Ed. Hudson.

Now 'tis impossible that he could have known it in Doubt, whether this Fact had any thing *miraculous* in it or not, had he entertained any firm and certain belief of the *absolute and universal Inspiration of the sacred Writings*, which represent it as one of the most *signal and illustrious Miracles* that God ever wrought by the hand of *Moses*.

To the Authority of *Josephus* I shall just add that of *Philo*; whose Words, as quoted by *Eusebius*, may be render'd thus: *As for the Man, whoever he was, who gave them their Laws, they had him in so great Admiration, that whatsoever he approved, they approved too. Whatever therefore he dictated to them, whether he had contrived and invented it himself, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God* [a].

I shall make no Reflection on this Passage, but leave it to the Reader to consider, whether it is not more reasonable, with *these primitive and judicious Apologists of the Jewish Religion*, to allow some liberty of thinking, as to the *Divinity of their sacred Books*, than with our modern Zealots to calumniate and persecute for ever all who differ from them in Opinion about Questions of such Difficulty and Uncertainty; yet no sooner does a Man enquire with Freedom into the true State of any *Scriptural Fact*, but the *Alarm Bell* is sounded, and the Clergy admonished of a dangerous Attempt against the *Authority of Moses*. But consider, Sir, that the effectual way of ruining a Fabrick, is to charge it with a greater Load than it was made to bear; and the surest Method of weakening any thing is not by restraining it within its due Bounds, but by forcing and stretching it beyond what Nature and Reason designed it for. Now because this is a Question of great Nicety and Importance, which you seem not much acquainted with, it may be worth while to open it a little further, and add a Word or two more before I dismiss it.

[a] ΑΛΛὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ὃς τίς ποτε ἦν ὁ τῆς νόμου καὶ αὐτοῖς θεῖς, οὕτω σφόδρα θαύμασαν, ὥς ὅτι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς· εἴτε ἔν λελογισμένῳ

αὐτὸς, εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. ex Philone de exitu ab Ægypto.

'Tis the common Notion of all the *Greek Fathers*, that the divine *Plato* had greatly studied the *Books of Moses*, and made much use of them in his own: So that *Clemens of Alexandria* and others call him the *Attick Moses* [a]: and both *Clemens* and *Eusebius* take much pains in pointing out the particular Notions and Sentiments which he had borrowed from *Moses* [b]. As we have seen then already from some Passages above what is delivered of the Character and Abilities of the first *Moses*; so let us see likewise what this *Attick Moses* says of the proper Qualifications and Perfections of *such a Lawgiver*. Why he says, *that he ought to consider and contrive nothing else so much, as to instil such Notions into the People as are likely to do them the greatest good* [c]. And this is exactly agreeable to the Character of *Moses*, as 'tis given almost in the very Words of *Plato* by the *Jewish Writers* as well as *Primitive Fathers*. But in order to execute his good Intentions towards the People, *the Magistrate or Legislator will often find it necessary, according to Plato, for the good of his Subjects, to invent certain Fables, Fictions, or political Lies, to be propagated among them, as Medicine or Physick to obviate and cure ill Principles, as well as to infuse good ones: and above all, to influence the Minds of the younger Sort so, as to make them submit willingly and cheerfully to the Laws prescribed*. And to shew how readily the Multitude may be drawn into the Belief of any thing proposed by an artful Governor, he instances in the *Fable of the Dragon's Teeth sown in the Ground, from each of which an armed Man immediately sprang up*; which, as absurd as it is, was yet once, he says, *swallowed for true by the People* [d].

Now the chief End proposed by *Plato* for the Invention of these *Fables* or *Lies*, is to keep the People the more religiously attached to an exact Observance of their Laws, and Obedience

[a] Νουμήμιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ἀντικρὺς γράφει, τὸ ἐπὶ Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀπὸ κινεῖται. Strom. l. 1. c. 22. Edit. Potter.

[b] Vid. Clem. Alex. ibid. c. xxv. &c. It. Præpar. Evang. Euseb. l. 12. &c.

[c] Ὡς καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἀνευρίσκειν, ἢ τὸ πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι τὸν πόλιν. De Leg. 2. p. 664.

[d] Vid. Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 414. et alibi. it. de legib. l. 2. p. 663.

to their Governors. And this is what *Josephus* every where insists on, as the *peculiar Praise and Character of Moses* above all other Law-givers in the World: that he had his People from their very Childhood trained to *the most inviolable Devotion to his Laws, and the most profound Reverence for his Person* [a]. Now should I take the liberty to say, that *Plato's* Notion of the use and necessity of *Publick Fables* or *Lies*, was borrowed from the *Mosaic Writings*, and suggested by what he had observed in the *Practice and Example of Moses*, what an Outcry would the shallow Bigots make of *weakening his Authority*, and *favouring Infidelity*? Yet *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius*, I find, say much the same thing, and make this Reasoning and these very Sentiments of *Plato* a clear Proof of his Acquaintance with the *Mosaic History*.

Clemens speaking of the *Art of Governing*, tells us among other things, that the *ends of Government are to be served by persuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is just, or lying, or telling Truth, as different Circumstances require; Examples of all which*, says he, *and how to use each of them properly, the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from Moses* [b].

Eusebius after having explained *Plato's* Opinion about the Necessity of contriving *proper Fables and Fictions* for the Good of the People, declares the Case to have been just the same with the *Jews*, and that in the *Books of Moses* there are infinite Examples of this kind of *Fictions* contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude [c].

But is the Notion then, you'll say, of the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inspiration of Moses* to be resolved into *Fiction* and *Fable* or *Political Lying*? No; far be it from me to think or say that: But this perhaps one may venture to say; that the Supposition of some degree of *such Fiction* may possibly be found necessary to the solving the Difficulties of the *Mosaic Writings*, without any hurt to their Authority, or advantage to Infidelity; since the best and

[a] Vid. Antiq. 1. 3. c. 15. Sect. 3. It. con. Ap. 1. 2.

[c] Præp. Evangel. p. 356. Edit. R. Steph.

[b] Strom. 1. p. 417. Edjt. Potter.

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most zealous Apologists of the *Jewish Religion* have not scrupled, we see, to allow it on some occasions; especially when it was their business to explain and propose it to Strangers; not with any design to *weaken*, but to *strengthen* it the more effectually in the good Opinion of the World; by shewing its *Founder Moses* to have been the same kind of Man with those other *Legislators* and *Founders of States*, for whom the politest Nations have always had the utmost Honour and Veneration. For *there's nothing dishonourable*, says *Plutarch*, in the common Story of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other such *Lawgivers*; that having great *Innovations* to make in the State, and a *perverse* and *obstinate* People to deal with, they invented the *Fiction* of a *divine Mission* or *Revelation*, *salutary* and *beneficial* to those for whose sake they contrived it [a].

But to return into the way from whence we have digressed. You go on to expose *my manner of misquoting*, as you call it [b], in some Passages I had produced from *Herodotus*; and affirm, that I have *partially quoted him on purpose to deceive my Reader no less than five times in about twice the number of lines* [c]. Let us examine the Truth of this solemn and heavy Accusation.

First then, I quote *Herodotus* for saying, that the *Ægyptians* were governed by *Laws and Customs peculiar to themselves and different from those of other Nations*. This, you own, is *Truth*, but not the whole Truth; for *Herodotus* says, that their *Laws* were different from those of all other Nations. But I judged it necessary, it seems, to drop the word *all*, lest the Reader should perceive the *Absurdity* of attempting to shew from this Place that the *Jews* agreed with them in their *Customs* [d]. Sure no Cavil was ever so trifling: For is not the Word *all* of necessity implied and understood in the very Sense I have given? If the *Ægyptian Laws* were, as I say, *peculiar* to themselves, does not that *Peculiarity* infer a Difference from *all* other Nations? But suppose the Word *all* not implied onely, but actually inserted; how does it shew any Ab-

[a] Plut. Numa, p. 62. Edit. Paris.

[b] Reply, p. 22.

[c] Ibid. p. 27, 28.

[d] Reply, p. 23.

furdity in my Reasoning, or at all affect it? My Argument previously supposes some Resemblance of Customs between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, grounded on the long Residence of the *Jews* in *Ægypt*; where for above two hundred Years they are supposed to have complied with the Customs, and conformed even to the Religion of the Country [a]: As the Turn then and Genius of the *Ægyptians* disposed them to affect a Peculiarity in their Laws, and a difference of Manners from all other Nations; so the *Jews* also, among whom we find the same Disposition and Affectation of Peculiarity, may well be supposed to have derived this Humour from *Ægypt*. So that your Criticism is grounded meerly in your own Mistake of the very Argument you pretend to criticise.

Secondly, I say on the Authority of *Herodotus*, that the *Ægyptians* were more addicted to *Prodigies* and *Miracles* than any other People: And here you tell me, that I once more deceive my Reader, even at the expence of a false Quotation, since in the place referred to, *Herodotus* speaks not a word of *Miracles*, but of *Prodigies* only [b]. As if a Superstitious Regard to *Prodigies* did not imply an equal Regard to *Miracles*; and those who are so fond of the one, were not of necessity as much addicted to the other; as it might easily be proved of the *Ægyptians* in particular by many other Authorities, if this before us was not sufficient. But τέρατα the word used here, signifies, you say, *Prodigies*; and does it not signify *Miracles* too? If you think not, I would advise you to consult your Dictionary, before you set up for a Critick: Nay, the very Reason you give why *Prodigies* must needs be meant in this Place, and not *Miracles*, proves just the contrary: For they were such things, you say, as could be found out, which *Miracles* could not be: Now 'tis certain that *Miracles* may be contrived, invented, or found out, as τέρατα ἀνέυρηται, may properly be render'd; but the same cannot be said of monstrous Births, unnatural Copulations, &c. which you give as the Instances of *Prodigy*. And what, I pray, are the τεγατέργοι mentioned by Authors; the makers

[a] Vid. Spencer de Legibus Heb. l. 1. c. 1.

[b] Reply, p. 24.

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of monstrous Births, or the Forgers of Miracles? The following Words indeed are applicable properly to *Prodigies*; but if the Sentence I have quoted be compleat in itself, as it seems to be considered in all our Editions, where 'tis distinguished by a full point; then it leads more naturally to the Notion of *Miracles* than of *Prodigies*: However the same Word carries certainly in it the Notion of both, and a superstitious attention to the one, necessarily infers the same Regard to the other: So that your Observation has neither the use of Language nor Sense to support it.

Thirdly, I add, that the *Ægyptians had an High Priest, with an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son.* To this you reply, *that 'tis unlucky for me that according to Herodotus they had not an High Priest over the whole Nation, as the Jews had, but one over each County or Province, of which there were thirty six; a Constitution so different from that of the Jews, that if I had represented it right, I could never lead my Reader to agree with me that Moses borrowed it from Ægypt of all Countries under Heaven [a].* Most acute and ingenious Reason! as if instead of a Similitude of Custom, which is all I endeavour to shew, I had undertaken to prove an Identity or absolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumstances: Should a Foreign Prince take a fancy to copy the *Hierarchy of England*, and in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, establish either *one Archbishop* with subordinate *Bishops*; or *one Bishop* with subordinate *Priests*; which last Case was upon the Matter executed by the late *King of Prussia*: You without doubt would argue that the Hint could not possibly be taken from *England*; because We had *two Archbishops* and He but *one*, or We *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and He onely *a Bishop*. Your Reasoning is full as ridiculous in the Case before us; as if *Moses* could not take the Government of the *District* or *Province* he lived in, as a Pattern for his own petty State, which was hardly much more considerable than a *single County of Ægypt*.

But 'tis *unlucky for me*, you say, *that Herodotus is not speaking*

[a] Reply, p. 25.

here of any such High Priest as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation, but one over each Province. Yet all the ill luck, I doubt, will be found at last on your side; who taking your Notions from separate Passages of Authors, which you interpret presently according to your own Prejudices, have happened in this Place, as in many others, to guess quite wrong. For tho' *Herodotus* tells us here [a], that there were *many Priests to each God*, and consequently a great Number of them in the whole; yet he must be understood to mean, that there was *one High Priest over those many or the whole Number*. This is very clear from other Passages of his History, where he plainly intimates that there was but *one High Priest over the whole Nation*, just as there was but *one King*: That the *Number of their High Priests and their Kings, in a Succession of 341 Generations, happened to be exactly equal*: That each *High Priest provided a Statue of himself to perpetuate his Memory to Posterity*: And that he himself *was introduced by the Priests into a large Room or Temple, where these Statues were deposited, and saw 341 of Colossian Size, the Images of so many High Priests in lineal Descent from Father to Son* [b]. Which cannot, I think, be applicable to any other *High Priest*, but just *such an one as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation*.

Fourthly, the *Ægyptians*, I say, *abhorred Swine's Flesh as impure and abominable*. And here indeed you own, that I deliver the true Sense of *Herodotus*; to which I had added an Authority of *Josephus* to the very same Purpose. As the Fact then is certain and agreed, that the *Ægyptians generally abhorred Swine's Flesh, and abstained from it superstitiously*; how can this be made an instance of my *falsifying or misquoting Herodotus*? Why, *because there are three Circumstances*, as you observe with your usual Acuteness, *in which the behaviour of the Jews and Ægyptians with regard to Swine were not alike* [c]. But if there had been *three-score* instead of *three*, it had been nothing at all to the purpose, since the Fact I contend for is allowed: All that I pretend to inti-

[a] Herod. 1. 2. c. 37.

[b] Herod. 1. 2. c. 143.

[c] Reply, p. 27.

mate, is, from the near Resemblance of many Customs, that the *Jews* might probably have borrowed them from *Ægypt*: You cry out on the other hand, that the Inference is *unjust, partial, and contrived to deceive*, because I do not shew in all points an *Identity of Custom*. All which Clamour proves just nothing but your own want of Judgment, in not reflecting, that a Custom may be borrowed, and yet altered, enlarged or restrained as the Borrower shall afterwards find convenient.

But there is one observation of yours, which I can't help taking notice of here; that since the Customs which the *Jews* had in common with the *Ægyptians*, were in use likewise in several other Countries; why, say you, *must they needs have been borrowed from Ægypt rather than from any other Country* [a]? This you repeat, and insist on again in another place [b]; nay, you go so far in one Instance as to declare, *that of all Countries under Heaven Ægypt was the most unlikely to derive the Custom from* [c]. Now I cannot for my life conceive, how 'tis possible for one, who knows any thing of the *Jewish History*, and has the least grain of Judgment, to put so silly a Question. The *Jewish Nation* was nursed up in *Ægypt* from its very infancy, and during a Residence there of above 200 Years grew up from one single Family into a mighty People: In all which Time, as is abovementioned, they were trained in *all the Customs*, and complied even with the *Religion and Idolatry of the Country*: and even after they had quitted it, they retained still, we find, the old fondness for the *Customs, Ceremonies and Worship* they had been used to: and this not onely on their Journey, when the Impression and Memory of those Customs were strong on their Minds, but when they were settled in quiet Possession of the promised Land, and formed into a regular State; where they continued remarkable for nothing so much as their Aversion to Strangers, and their Care to preserve themselves separate and clear of any Mixture with all other Nations. If this be true, as it certainly is, what ground can there possibly be for what you so oft inculcate; *that*

[a] Reply, p. 25.

[b] Ibid. p. 42.

[c] Ibid. p. 25.

they might have borrowed their Customs from any other Country as probably as from *Ægypt*? Every Man of Sense must needs laugh at you for entertaining the least thought of its Probability; which you might however have entertained as long as you please, had you but excused me from thinking it probable too, and not made this very Instance, in which I follow *Reason, Fact* and *History*, a Proof of my *Partiality and Prejudice against Moses*.

Fifthly, I have passed over one of your Observations in my way, about the Treatment of *Leptous Persons*, on purpose to give it a particular answer; as it is the onely one in your Book, where your Charge upon me of *misquoting* is supported with any Truth or Reason. The Passage however is found in *Herodotus*, in the very Sense I had given to it, tho' not, it seems, among the *Customs of Ægypt*, where I had ranged it, but of *Persia* [a]. But tho' it would not perhaps be difficult to shew, that the same Treatment of *Leprosy* was practised also in *Ægypt*; yet, as the Quotation stands, I cannot but own it to be the effect of Negligence, and want of Attention in me: I took it from my Papers, whither I had transcribed it, and not having the Original near me, or being in haste to finish what was before me, I trusted to Memory and the Persuasion I was under, that the Fact was related of *Ægypt*: Which I allow to be a Fault that deserves Animadversion, as I should as frankly have done in any other Article you charge me with, had there appeared any just Ground or Reason for such Charge. But since you have taken from me one *Ægyptian Custom*, I think myself obliged to replace it with another, viz. the Laws about *Animals clean and unclean*; which the learned *Cotelerius* allows to have been taken probably from the *Practice of Ægypt*; to which the *Hebrew Nation*, he says, were too much addicted [b]; and gives us a Quotation of *Porphry*, from *Charemon the Ægyptian Historian*, importing, that the *Priests of Ægypt abstained from Fish, and all four footed Beasts, whose Hoofs either were not cloven*

[a] Reply, p. 26.

Cotelerii c. x. Not. 42. p. 30.

[b] Vid. Barnabæ Epist. ex Editione

other in these Rites, is so clearly decided by the learned *Spencer*, that no Man, unless supinely credulous, as he says, can believe it to have been the *Ægyptians* [c]. And indeed both he and *Marsham* derive in a manner the whole ritual Law from this very Source of *Ægypt*: The moveable Tabernacle, Ark of the Covenant, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Priestly Vestments, the Sabbath, Festivals, Washings, Purifications, Oracles, Prophecy, Divination, &c [d].

You go on to observe, that I shew my Skill or great Negligence of quoting, in falsely rendering into English the Latin Translation of *Maimonides's Words* [e]. Hard indeed, not to allow me capable of translating even *Latin*: But whatever you please to allow, I pretend to a Skill which you are not yet Master of, of rendering the true Meaning of a Passage agreeable to the general Notion conveyed by it, without trifling and dwelling on the less significant words, so as to hurt the main and obvious Sense of the whole. Let us try your Criticism by this Rule. *Spencer* speaking of *Circumcision* in the Words of *Maimonides* [f], calls it *res durissima & difficillima*; here we have its Character and Description; and the main Notion of the Passage is, that it was a *most harsh* and *most hazardous* thing: Now is it possible that a thing in its Nature the *most dangerous*, could ever be performed with-

[a] Ibid. p. 36. Not. 78.

[b] Propyl. Agonist. c. 2. apud Oedip. *Ægypt*. T. 1.

[c] Nemo vero nisi supinè credulus, opinari potest *Ægyptios*, &c. de Leg. Hebræor. l. 3. c. 2. Sec. 2. p. 650.

[d] Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. p. 663, &c.—It.

Marth. Can. Chron.

[e] Reply, p. 29.

[f] *Res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda.*

out *some Danger*? But *I change*, you say, *the restraining Word, sometimes with Hazard, into some Hazard*: Where every body but yourself will see the propriety of it, in order to make the Sentence consistent with itself: for as soon as I discover the true Sentiment of an Author, 'tis enough for me to catch hold of that, and not like your solemn Pedants think myself obliged to follow the very Inaccuracies and Perplexities of the Original.

But you urge me still and say, that *I shew my usual Dexterity* in the use of a Passage taken from *Lightfoot* [a], on whose Authority I assert, that *the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a standing Law, that when any Person had lost three Children successively by it, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest, in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, &c.* Where *Lightfoot*, you observe, *speaks not a word either of a standing Law, or the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.* But does not the Case itself speak necessarily of both? And can any Man be so silly as to think, that by a *standing Law* I could mean a *Law of Moses*? No, the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a *Judgment* or *Decision*, as you own, of the *Rabbins* or *Jewish Doctors*, who were both Interpreters of the Law and Guides of Conscience, that *when a Man had lost three Children successively by Circumcision, he should be excused from circumcising the rest.* This I call a *standing Law* or *Practice*, or *Custom*; grounded on a Decree of the proper Judges in the Case. But *Lightfoot*, you say, *does not speak a Word of the frequent Mortality of it.* But does not the Fact he mentions as sometimes happening of *three Children dying of it successively*, necessarily imply and infer it? Allow the Case to have happened, tho' but seldom, and the other will follow of course: And here you shew, what you do indeed in every other Place, that your Cavils are founded onely in your own Mistake of the very thing you cavil at: For you charge me as producing this Passage to prove, that the *Case of three Children's dying successively by Circum-*

[a] Reply, p. 30.

cision was frequent with them [a]: Whereas all I endeavour to shew, is, that the Mortality of Circumcision must needs be frequent, because that Case did sometimes happen: No body can imagine the Case itself to be very common, tho' you allow five or six instances of it on Record; and if no more had ever happened, they are more than sufficient to shew, that Circumcision was ordinarily dangerous and often mortal: You will hardly deny the Small Pox to be frequently mortal, yet few or none perhaps know five or six Cases of three Children dying successively of it in the same Family: which yet happened so often, according to Lightfoot, thro' the danger of Circumcision, that there were many uncircumcised on that account both of the Priests and People. And thus the Words of Maimonides and Passage of Lightfoot, in spite of your Cavils, demonstrably prove all I contend for, the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.

I have now gone thro' your *Criticisms on my Quotations*, and have shewn them to be both false and trifling, void both of Learning and Judgment: But this, Sir, ought not to reflect so much Shame on you, as the want of Candour and Truth, and the love of Calumny you betray in the Management of them. At setting out you would persuade your Reader, that there's *scarce one Quotation*, which I have not abused and misrepresented; yet out of *four score* you attempt onely some slight Objections to *fifteen*, as you reckon, but as every body else will count, *thirteen* onely; the two last, as we shall presently see, being not exceptions to my *Quotations*, (as to enhance the Number, you absurdly call them) but to my Reasonings: And of these *thirteen*, there's but a *poor single one* left you, in which you have shewn indeed some want of attention or too much haste in me, but no possible suspicion of any wilful Misrepresentation. Is this then the part of a Man of Honour or Integrity to calumniate so strongly on a Foundation so weak? Is this suitable to the Gravity of the Person you assume, and your conjuring me so solemnly *in God's Name, and for the*

sake of Sincerity, to weigh things better, and report Facts more fairly [a]? Will not the Reader be apt to entertain the same Suspicion of your Religion, as he must before have done of your Learning, that with all this Outcry about it, you have no real Esteem or Concern for it; for which Reflection he will find still but too much Reason in what follows?

You proceed to call over again the *Story of Babel*, and declare my account of *that Confusion* to be *truly a confused one [b]*: where for the sake of a stupid Jest, you put your Judgment to some risk with the Reader; who may not perhaps be of Opinion, that my way of writing is so *confused* as you would intimate: But to come to the Point. I shall first consider what you object to my Account of this Fact, and then examin the Merit of your own Exposition of it.

I have said in *my Letter*, that the *Sons of Noab* were so far from any Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that before the Confusion of Babel they had already begun to disperse, and actually sent off a great Colony from the East to the Land of Shinaar [c]. For this I produced the concurrent Testimony both of *Protestant* and *Papist*, both *Patrick* and *Calmet*; and thought myself very orthodox and safe under the Shelter of such Authority; but all, it seems, in vain; since the *Question*, you say [d], is not what any Commentator has fancied, but what the Scripture has taught about the Matter. How hard is it to deal with such thorough-paced Divines? Commentators are at some times every thing; at others nothing with them. Doctor *Waterland* contemns his Adversary for having no Acquaintance with them [e]; and you condemn me for being acquainted with them: The Doctor says, that there's not one Commentator of Note but would have set his Antagonist right [f]; you pretend to shew, that Two of the best Note have set me quite wrong [g]. But there cannot be much

[a] Reply, p. 40, 41.

[b] Reply, p. 31.

[c] Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 41.

[d] Reply, p. 32.

[e] Script. Vind. Par. 1. p. 8.

[f] Ibid. p. 24.

[g] Rep. p. 32.

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difficulty in defending *Patrick* and *Calmet* against such an Expositor as your self: Let's try what can be done.

You observe, that in the end of the *tenth Chapter of Genesis* preceding the *Story of Babel*, 'tis said of the *Sons of Noah*, *that by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood*. And then it follows, Chap. xi. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech. Where all Mankind, you say, is spoken of without the Exclusion of any Part*. But, pray Sir, what do these two Verses import, but that the several Nations of the World were founded and peopled by the *Dispersion of the Sons of Noah*, and that before *the Confusion of Babel* the whole Earth had but *one Language*? Where the very Expression of the *whole Earth* seems to intimate some kind of dispersion and peopling of different Countries previous to *that Confusion*. But in the next Verse 'tis said, *And it came to pass as they journeyed from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinaar and dwelt there*. That is; of these *Sons of Noah*, by whom the *Nations were divided*, in the very Act of dividing and dispersing themselves, as one *great Part or Colony* travelled from the *East*, they found a convenient Plain and settled there. But here's not a *Word*, you say, *about their dispersing themselves, or sending of Colonies*: But is it not implied in this *journeying from the East*, or is it possible to disperse any otherwise than by journeying from one Place to another? But there's no Hint given; you observe, that this is to be understood of a *part of them* onely, and not of the *whole*. But where the Text is silent, or obscure, must not we fill up the Sense of it from Reason and the Nature of things, which necessarily suggest such a Distinction? For what Sense can there be in supposing, as you do, that the whole of Mankind must needs travel thus from Place to Place in one Body? Why, *when they had consumed the Provision and Forage their first Settlement afforded, they were forced, you say, to remove to another*. But would not Reason and Necessity have taught them, that the onely Remedy for this Evil must be their *separating* from each other, and not *journeying together*? For the same Inconvenience would
always

always attend them, whilst they all held in a Body; and there could have been no end of their journeying, if they had hung together, till they had eat up every thing the Place afforded: All which Distress would have been prevented at once, if as soon as Victuals grew scarce for their *whole Number*, they had sent off a *Part* or *Colony* to fresh Quarters; whilst as many of them staid behind and kept Possession of the old ones, as they were capable of receiving.

Again, by supposing the *whole Body of Mankind* to be concerned and present at the *Confusion of Babel*, you involve *Noah and his Sons*, who were then alive, in the Guilt and Partnership of that Rebellion against God: But 'tis improbable or incredible rather, that such a *Preacher of Righteousness*, whose Faith and Virtues are so celebrated in Scripture, could either have consented himself to so wicked a Project, or that so *venerable a Parent of human Race* should not have Credit and Authority enough in his own Family to have restrained them from so daring an Impiety. So that 'tis on all accounts highly reasonable to conclude with the *learned Commentators* above mentioned, that it was but a *Colony or Part of the whole*, that travelled from the *East*, and were concerned in building the *Tower of Babel*.

But I had observed in my Letter, that *all we can collect from this Story is, that the Multitude at Babel, knowing they must soon be dispersed still further, had a mind before such Dispersion to erect some publick Monument of their common Origin, by building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven; and that it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design that induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language, &c.* Now you on the contrary affirm, that *I collect from the Story a Design quite different from what the Story expressly mentions* [a]: Where I must leave it to the Reader to judge whether I have justly represented the Sense of Scripture or no: For does it not plainly intimate, that the Ground of their offending God, was in the

[a] Reply, p. 35.

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Design they had projected of *building a Tower as high as Heaven*? Does it give any other Instance of their Arrogance and Presumption? And does it not likewise expressly say, that their Intent was to *raise themselves a Name* by the Project they had formed? The Story I declared to be a *strange one*, and durst not for that Reason venture on any other Solution of it, than what the very Words suggested. But *I was misled*, you say, *and endeavour to mislead my Reader by the idle Translation of the Old Greek and Latin Interpreters*; since the Original imports just what our *English Version* gives; *let us build a City and a Tower that may reach to Heaven, and let us make a Name, lest we be scattered abroad*, &c. And allowing all this; does not even the Word *lest* imply an Apprehension or Notion that they should shortly be obliged to disperse further; and an Intention consequently to erect this *publick Monument and make themselves a Name before such Dispersion*? But the Word *lest* according to you gives a quite different Turn to the Sense; as if it had been said, *let us build a City and a Tower, to prevent or hinder our further Dispersion*. Strange Nonsense! As if a Tower could change the Nature of Things, and prevent their being scattered abroad or dispersed to people the Earth: Unless you can suppose them resolved to combat Heaven itself, and silly enough to imagine that by the help of such Entrenchments they should be able to baffle the Power of the Almighty.

The Text then, whether we render it according to the *Seventy Interpreters* and the old *Latin*, or according to our *vulgar English*, comes, we see, in a manner to the same thing: I cannot however dismiss it without observing the Rashness of your Censure on the *Old Greek Version*, which you call an *Idle Translation*, tho' it was so frequently used, and *authenticated* as it were by our *Saviour, the Apostles and Evangelists*, and held for Sacred and Inspired by all the *Primitive Fathers*.

I shall now just spend a Word or two in examining your own Account of *this Historical Fact*; where tho' you seem cautious of using Dr. *Waterland's* Words, yet you assert in effect the very
same

same thing, which in every Dress of Language will always be equally absurd. The *Doctor* says, *that the Sons of Noah had formed a Conspiracy to hang together in a Cluster, and neither to disperse nor cultivate the Ground, had not God miraculously interposed to confound their Projects, &c* [a]. You say, *that they were resolved to hold closely together; to adhere strictly to each other, and never to part, if God had not forced them to it, to prevent those Quarrels and Wars which would inevitably arise among them from their living together, &c* [b]. Strange, that such a loving, fond Society, that could not bear the thought of leaving each other, *determined, as you say, to live and die together* [c], should so soon be engaged in *Quarrels and Wars*! But their Love, it seems, was so extravagant, that it was worse than Death to them to part, and they would chuse rather to kill one another, than live asunder. 'Tis surprizing, I say, that Men of any Understanding can take up with such Absurdities, and after much Pains and Plodding should have got no further in thinking than what their Nurfes had taught them.

Had Mankind in those first Ages of the World been all confin'd within some *Island*, whence no Escape was practicable; the Account you give might have had some Reason in it, that as fast as their Numbers increased and their Victuals diminished, they must have been forced to destroy and prey upon each other; but even in such a Case, rather than perish by Hunger, they would have struggled hard and tried many an Invention of Floats and Vessels in quest of better Quarters by Sea: But to suppose such a Multitude in the middle of the Continent and in fruitful Plains determined to hold together till they starved, and like Men in the Extremity of a Siege, killing each other for want of Viçtuals, which yet might be had for fetching; whilst Plenty and all the World lay before them, if they would but disperse themselves to the Enjoyment of it; is so senseless and absurd

[a] Scripture Vindicated, Part 1. p. 42.

[c] Ib. p. 39.

[b] Reply, p. 38, 39, &c.

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a Notion, that 'tis inconceivable how any Man can entertain it. There could not then be any want of a Miracle to bring about the *Dispersion of Mankind* in its infant, growing State; or occasion for any other Command, than what was given to Man at his Creation and implanted in his Nature; *encrease and multiply*; the certain Consequence of which is to *disperse and replenish the Earth*: His own natural Appetites would necessarily force him to it, as soon as it became convenient, in spite of any Will or Resolution to the contrary, could any such without Absurdity be supposed.

You come at last to expose the *Falshood of the Historical Faëts*, which *I have rashly advanced*, as you say [a], in *several Parts of my Letter*: Where one would imagine that you would have contested with me every *single Faët* I had touched upon, since you proclaim it in your *Title Page*, and undertake to shew the *general Falshood* of them all: Yet all the *Faëts* you pretend to dispute with me are but *two*; and of these *two*, the second, as I've observed above, is *no Question of Faët* at all, but a Squabble onely about my Opinion or Manner of solving a *certain Faët* which we both allow to be delivered in History, viz. the *Confusion of Babel*. This you call *one of the Historical Faëts*, that *I have falsly advanced*; which shews the little Arts you are forced to use to raise an Outcry against me, and enhance the Sum total of my Malice and Impiety.

The *onely Faët* then you contest with me, as *rashly advanced in my Letter*, is concerning the *Learning, Politeness and flourishing Condition of Ægypt in Moses's Time*. I had asserted it to be more probable that the *Jews* should borrow from the *Ægyptians*, than the *Ægyptians* from the *Jews*, from the general Character of the two Nations: of the *Ægyptians*, as always *learned and polite*; of the *Jews*, always *rude and illiterate*. And tho' I had assigned no Period of Time to their Fame for Learning, yet since my Reasoning supposes them possessed of it before *Moses's* time, I will here join Issue, and allow, as you say [b], that *the Question*

[a] Reply, p. 41.

[b] Reply, p. 42.

between us is, whether *Ægypt* was so great a Kingdom, so polite a Nation in *Moses's* time as I have represented it. This then is the Fact, that I undertake to make good; I will not say against you, who seem to know but little of the Matter, but against what you absurdly call the *Demonstrations and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* [a].

You had heard much talk of Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations* in Mathematics and his great *Discoveries* in Natural Knowledge; and imagined perhaps that those Words signified nothing more than *Conjecture* or *Opinion*. For had you reflected what a *Demonstration* meant, you could not have applied it to a *System of Chronology*, however probable, or preferable to all others, which from the Nature of Things can never reach Certainty or admit of *Demonstration*. But, pray Sir, after all what is it that Sir *Isaac* has discovered? has he brought to light any old Authors, which for Ages past had lain buried in Oblivion; or any Monuments of Antiquity unknown before to the Curious? Or has he done in the learned, what he did in the natural World; invented a *new Telescope*, to pry into remote and dark Antiquity with more Accuracy than had been practicable before? If he has done nothing of this, then *all his Discoveries* can amount onely to *Conjecture*; which, like that of all other Men, will always be fallible and uncertain, as we shall find more especially in the very Instance before us.

In saying this, I am far from any thought of weakening the Authority or lessening the Character of Sir *Isaac*; I have as great an Honour for him as you have, and look upon him as one of the greatest Philosophers the World has ever produced: But if as in Mathematics and Philosophy, so in every other Part of Learning, his Authority must needs be advanced above that of all others; I must take the liberty to dissent from you, and to declare, that for a thorough Knowledge of Antiquity, and the whole Compass of *Greek and Ægyptian Learning*, there have been, in my Opinion,

[a] Reply, p. 44, 50.

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and now are, many Men as far superior to him, as he within his proper Character is superior to every body else. And I cannot but observe, that it is much the same Case here with the *Authority of Sir Isaac*, as it was above with that of *Moses*; 'tis not I, but you who weaken it, by forcing and stretching it to a Point whither it can't be extended, to a length it never can reach.

But to come to the Question, of the *Politeness and Learning of the Ægyptians in Moses's time*: I had touched it but slightly in my *Letter*, imagining that it must have been taken for granted, or could not at least be called in question by any *Christian* on the single Testimony of *St. Stephen*; who affirms, *Moses to have been learned in all the Wisdom of the Ægyptians* [a]. But I was much surprized to find you treat *St. Stephen's* Authority so slightly; by telling us, *that these Words of St. Stephen were not a Proof of any thing but that he spake according to the then receiv'd Tradition of the Jews* [b]; which is telling us in effect, that they proved just nothing at all, but that himself was misled by the vulgar Errors and popular Prejudices of that Age; that had he lived to see *Sir Isaac Newton's Demonstrations and Discoveries*, he must have been of another Mind. Strange! to find so zealous an Advocate of Christianity, in order to get rid of a slight Difficulty, destroying the very Foundation of all Revealed Religion. For is it possible, Sir, that a Person *inspired by God, full of the Holy Ghost*, and speaking under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Divine Spirit*, as *St. Stephen* here did, could be misled by popular Error or Prejudice to utter anything false and erroneous? Such a Concession must needs shake, I say, the very Foundation of *Christianity* itself. For what impression could its Dictates make, if tho' inspired, they could yet be supposed to be false? Thus whilst your zeal for senseless Systems transports you to treat me rudely, for moderating onely the extravagant Notions of some of our popular Divines, and demolishing such slight Outworks as make the Defence of Religion more difficult; you betray the very Citadel, and yield up the Fortrefs itself. This is a length

[a] Act. vii. 22.

[b] Reply, p. 49.

and freedom of thinking which, I assure you, I cannot reach; however you are pleased to calumniate me as a *Favourer of Infidelity*: For tho' I'm far from thinking every Title in the *Holy Scriptures* to be *inspired*; or that Persons *inspired* on certain Occasions, must of course be *infallible* on all; yet I cannot but think it a Point fundamental and necessary to be believed by all Christians, that whilst a Man is under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghost*, he must at the same time be *infallible and superior to all Error*; or else Christianity cannot be defended. In the present Case therefore from the single Testimony of St. Stephen, *full of the Holy Ghost*, we are as much obliged to believe, *that Learning flourished in Ægypt before Moses's time*, as that Christianity itself is true; for both must stand or fall together.

And here I have the pleasure to find my Opinion confirmed by Dr. Waterland himself, on whose Learning and Judgment you set so high a Value; who affirms the *Authority of St. Stephen speaking by the Spirit of God*, with regard to any Action or Passage of History, to be sufficient to silence all Cavils to the thing itself, tho' otherwise seemingly wrong and contrary to the reason of things; as in the Case of *Moses's killing the Ægyptian*: how much more decisive then must the same Authority be, when it asserts onely a plain matter of Fact, in itself harmless and indifferent? Why, to use the Doctor's own Words; the *Question admits of a short Decision, and is onely this? Whether St. Stephen full of the Holy Ghost, or a Gentleman full of himself and his own imaginations be most likely to pass a true Judgment on the Case* [a]?

To the Testimony of St. Stephen we may add another from the *Old Testament*; where in celebrating the great Wisdom of Solomon 'tis said, that it *exceeded that of the Ægyptians* [b]. Now this, whether we are to take it for *inspired*, or as a mere *historical Testimony*, must however convince all who have any regard for Scripture, that *Ægypt was famed for Wisdom before the Age of Solomon*; but Scripture is nothing with you to Sir Isaac's *Demonstrations*; who has dis-

[a] Script. Vindic. Part 2. p. 5.

[b] 1 Kings iv. 30.

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covered, it seems, that the *Ægyptians* had not so much as the use of Letters among them till *Solomon's* Reign [a].

With this Account of Scripture the whole Stream of *Profane History* entirely agrees; that the *Ægyptians* of all People in the World had the most antient Monuments, and most authentick Proofs of their *Learning and Antiquity*.

Herodotus owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almost every thing from them; that they were the Inventors of most Arts and Sciences; the *Division of the Year*; the *Immortality of the Soul*; the *Names and Worship of the Gods*, *Altars*, *Statuary*, *Sculpture*, &c [b]. That they reckoned a Succession of Kings from *Hercules* to *Amasis*, for the Space of seventeen thousand Years; which they pretended to demonstrate by an exact Register and Computation of Time regularly preserved in their sacred Books [c].

Diodorus Siculus gives much the same Account of their Antiquity and Invention of Arts and Sciences; and says, that besides their fabulous History, wherein they supposed their Country to have been governed by the Gods, they pretended to a Succession of four hundred and seventy Kings and five Queens Natives of *Ægypt*, exclusive of the Time they were under the *Æthiopians*, *Persians* and *Macedonians*; of all which Reigns they had clear and distinct Accounts in their sacred Records, describing particularly every Prince's Person, Character and Length of Reign; from which Books he himself had made his Extracts [d]. He says also, what indeed all other Writers confirm, that it was antiently the most populous of all the known Countries of the World; and had in it above eighteen thousand Cities and considerable Towns. *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* affirm it to have had twenty thousand in the Reign of *Amasis*, and that it continued to their own Time, well stocked with Cities, tho' less noble ones [e].

[a] Reply, p. 43.

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 4, 46, 50, 123, &c.

[c] Ibid. c. 43. Ταῦτα Ἀιγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπιστῆσαι αἰεὶ τὸ λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτη.

Ibid. c. 145.

[d] Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 41, 42. Edit. Rhodom. It. p. 27. B.

[e] De Situ Orbis, l. 1. c. 9. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 9.

This Notion of the *Greatness, Antiquity and Learning of the Egyptians superior to all other Nations*, is fully confirm'd and asserted by all the *primitive Writers both Jews and Christians*.

Philo the learned Jew, who himself lived in *Ægypt*, tells us, that *Moses learnt of his Egyptian Masters, who were sought out for him from all Parts, Arithmetick, Geometry, Musick, and their Philosophy expressed by Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks under the Figures of Animals; and Mathematicks, which the Egyptians were especially fond of, &c [a]*.

Clemens of Alexandria, who lived likewise in *Ægypt*, exactly follows *Philo's* Account, and ascribes to the *Ægyptians* the Invention of the principal Arts and Sciences [b].

Eusebius after both affirms the same thing; ascribes to the *Ægyptians* the Invention of Arts and Sciences, declares, that they had the *clearest and most undoubted Monuments of their Antiquity*, and that the *Greeks borrowed all in a manner from them [c]*.

Josephus is just in the same Story with the rest, and allows them in *Solomon's* time to have excelled all other Nations in the *Fame of their Wisdom [d]*.

Now if there had been any Prejudice in these *Jewish and Christian Writers*, who were all zealous and orthodox in their Religion, it must needs have been like yours on the other side of the Question; in thinking it a *Diminution to the Authority of Moses*, to imagine that he had borrowed any thing from *Ægypt*; but the Notoriety of the Fact and the Testimony of all History obliged them to allow and assert the Truth, which can never do Hurt to any Cause that is good.

But 'tis time to examine what *Sir Isaac Newton* has demonstrated and discovered in Opposition to all this Authority. Why, he has observed, that *Ægypt was so thinly peopled before the Birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites, behold the Children of Israel are*

[a] De Vita Mosis lib. 1. p. 605, 606. 279, 280. &c. Edit. R. Steph.

[b] Strom. 1. 1. p. 413, 361. Edit. [d] Con. Ap. 1. 2. 6. Et Antiq. Jud. 1. 8. c. 2. §. 5.

Potter.

[c] Præparat. Evangel. p. 29, &c. It.

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more and mightier than we: From whence it may at least, you say, be inferred, that the Jews were then no less powerful and flourishing a People than the Egyptians [a]. Where you seem to think yourself very modest in not insisting on much more, viz. that the *Israelites were even more potent and numerous than their Masters the Egyptians.* Strange Notion indeed! Not that I wonder at you, whose Notions seem generally to be taken on trust, but at Sir Isaac for entertaining it; being grounded meerly on Mistake or want of Attention to the *lofty and hyperbolical Stile of Scripture*: For by the same Reason he might as well have proved, that the *Jews* were absolutely the most powerful Nation in the World, since none of the *great Monarchies* ever reached the height of those Descriptions we find given of them in the *Sacred Writings*; where they are oft described to be as numerous as the *Sands of the Sea* and the *Stars of Heaven [b]*, for *Multitude*. And it is from the same Sublimity of Expression, that the *seven petty Nations* of the promised Land are said to be *more and mightier* than these very *Israelites*; and their *Cities impregnable and even fenced up to Heaven [c]*. But to review the Text itself, whence you draw this Inference: *The People of Israel, says Pharaoh, are more and mightier than we: And what's the Consequence? Why, a Resolution to afflict them the more heavily for it, and to make their Slavery the more rigorous [d].* A wonderful Proof of *superior Power and Might*, to suffer themselves to be treated the worse for it by the *fewer and weaker!*

But to examine a little the Possibility of this Notion from the very Account we have of it in *Scripture*. Whilst *Abraham* the *Father of the Jews* was yet childless, *Ægypt* is represented as a formed and established Monarchy: For we read of *Pharaoh its King*, with *his Princes* or great Courtiers around him [e]. About two hundred Years after, at *Jacob's* Descent into *Ægypt*, when the whole Posterity of *Abraham* reached onely the Number of se-

[a] Reply, p. 42, 43.

[b] Gen. xxii. 17. 2 Sam. xvii. 11.
Heb. xi. 12.

[c] Deut. vii. 1. Exod. ix. 1.

[d] Exod. i. 9, &c.

[e] Gen. xii. 15.

venty Persons, we have a more particular Description of the Wealth and flourishing Condition of that Kingdom [a]. And yet in about two hundred Years more, you suppose the *small Family of Jacob* to be grown superior in Power and Numbers to a Kingdom founded so many Ages before; which all this while had held them in Bondage and Slavery, and employed them in constant Drudgery and hard Labour.

Again, consider the Circumstances of their Flight from *Ægypt*. *Pharaoh* repenting of the Leave he had given them, pursues them with *six hundred chosen Chariots* [b]; and, as *Josephus* adds, *with fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot* [c]. Which yet could onely be a small Part of the military Force of *Ægypt*; as it must have been gathered in haste and marched on so short a warning. With this Force, according to the same *Historian*, he hemmed them in in such a manner between the Mountains and the Water, that they must all have been infallibly cut off, had not a Passage been opened to them of a sudden, either miraculously or accidentally thro' the Red Sea. So that taking the Account from *Scripture* and the *Jews themselves*, there cannot be any ground for a Comparison of the *Power and flourishing Condition* of the two Nations.

This, Sir, is what *Sir Isaac's Discoveries* amount to with regard to the *Strength and Greatness of the Ægyptian Nation*: Let us next see what he has *demonstrated* against the Learning and Wisdom, which I suppose them to have had in *Moses's time*. Why he says, that the *Invention of Letters was ascribed by the Ægyptians to Tboth, Secretary to King Osiris; who was the same Person as Bacchus, as Sesostris, as Sefac or Shifac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam* [d]: And consequently that they were so far from having any Learning, that they had not even the *use of Letters* till about *Solomon's Reign*. But how does he prove

[a] Gen. xlvii, &c.

[b] Exod. xiv. 7.

[c] Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 15. §. 3, &c.

[d] Reply, p. 43. Newt. Chron. p.

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all this? why, by meer Conjecture: *Ofiris, Bacchus, Sesostris*, says he, lived about the same time; were all Kings of *Ægypt*; potent by Land and Sea; all great Conquerors; carried their Conquests as far as India; all left Pillars with Inscriptions, &c. and therefore all three must be the same King, and this King can be no other than *Sesac* [a]. And he might as well have said, that they must all be the same with *Alexander the Great*, since much the same Actions are attributed also to him.

I shall not trouble myself with examining this Conjecture any further, than as it concerns the *Fact* I am engaged to support, that the *Ægyptians* had Arts and Learning amongst them before the time of *Sesac* or *Rehoboam*. And how is it possible to imagine that so great a Kingdom as *Ægypt*, which, as we learn from Scripture, had flourished for about a thousand Years from the time of *Abraham* to *Shisac*, should thro' all that Period want not onely the use of Letters, but almost all the other Arts and Inventions useful to Life; whilst the petty State of the *Jews* bordering so closely upon them, had all this while the familiar use of them all? *Ofiris* according to the Ancients, and his Wife *Isis*, invented the Culture of the Vine; *Physick*; Sowing and Ploughing, &c [b]. Now, if Sir *Isaac's* Conjecture be true, they must have lived without *Medicine*, *Corn* or *Wine* till the time of *Shisac* or *Solomon*, whilst yet we know certainly from Scripture that they had *Physicians* and *Plenty of Corn*, near seven hundred Years before in *Joseph's* time [c].

In the *Book of Job*, which is supposed by many to be older than *Moses* himself, the use of Letters and Writing is represented as a thing of long and antient standing [d]. And the *Israelites* themselves at their coming out of *Ægypt*, were not onely acquainted with Letters, but all the common Arts and Sciences useful to Life; which are not yet spoken of as new or lately invented, but referred to as things vulgar and of old familiar to them. *Moses*, we know,

[a] Newt. *ibid.* p. 193.

[c] Gen. 1. 2. It. xlii. 1.

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. It. p. 22. It.

[d] Job xix. 23. viii. 8.

Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* p. 29, &c.

wrote down the Words of the Lord [a]; and Joshua wrote the Covenant he made with the People in the Book of the Law [b]: But they had written to little purpose, had not writing been known before, and in common use with the People; who were in Possession likewise of all the other Arts, as Building, Statuary, Sculpture, cutting and setting of precious Stones, working in all sorts of Metals, Embroidery, Needlework [c]. Now, where can we imagine them to have learnt these Arts? In fighting their way thro' an Enemy's Country; or in the Wilderness? That's impossible: Or was Moses the Inventor of them? That's as impossible as the other [d]: For in the Hurry and unsettled State they were in, they had neither Ability nor Leisure to invent or learn any thing: Nor is it credible that the Scripture, which so carefully relates every other great Action of Moses, could have been silent on such an occasion, and omitted to give him the Glory of Inventions so useful and necessary to the Life of Man. So that 'tis as evident and certain, as both Reason and History can make it, that Moses and the Children of Israel came furnished and provided out of Ægypt not onely with Letters and the use of Writing, but all the other Arts and Sciences.

Besides, it was constantly objected to the Jews by their Enemies; that they were of all Barbarians the most rude and illiterate, and the onely People in the World who had never contributed any share to the common Benefit of Mankind, by the Invention of any thing new or useful to Life [e]: This was their Character in the World: And Josephus is so far from confuting it, that he owns the Charge; and excuses it from the Nature and Policy of their Government, which obliged them to such an immutable and inviolable observance of their Laws, that they were restrained and cramped

[a] Exod. xxiv. 4.

[b] Josh. xxiv. 26.

[c] Exod. xxxvi. &c.

[d] Mosem multi frivolis rationibus ducti scribendi auctorem faciunt. Kirch. Ob.

Pam. l. 1. 2.

[e] Ἀφυστάτης εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐς τὸν βίον εὐρημα συμβεβλησθαι μένους. Jos. con. Ap. l. 2. c. 14.

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from attempting and striking out any thing new [a]. But if *Josephus* had dreamt of what *Sir Isaac*, you say, *has now discovered*, how readily could he have answered, that the Charge was so far from being true, that he could demonstrate the Jews to be the very *Authors and Inventors*, not onely of *Letters and Writing*, but of all other *Arts and Sciences* in the World; and to have had the actual Use and Possession of them for at least five hundred Years before they were known in *Ægypt*: Which tho' contrary to *Scripture* and the Testimony of all *History*, is yet the necessary Consequence of what you call *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations*.

Thus, instead of exposing the *Falshood of my Historical Facts*, as you had undertaken in your *Title Page*, you have exposed nothing at last but your own Ignorance both of *Sacred and Profane Antiquity*; for to those who have any Acquaintance with either, 'tis impossible to place the *Origin of Letters and Arts in Ægypt*, so low as *Solomon's time*.

But you insult me still further with *Sir Isaac's Discoveries*, and charge me with two Mistakes more, made in open Defiance of them: First, for affirming the *Golden Calf made by Aaron to be nothing else but the Ægyptian God Apis*. Whereas *Sir Isaac*, you say, *has proved*, that *Apis was no other Person than Sesostris or Sbisac, who reigned in the Days of Solomon* [b]. 'Tis strange, that I must not be thought *Orthodox* here, where I have the Concurrence of all the best Writers both *Ancient and Modern* to support my Opinion [c]. *Philo* tells us, that they turned the Absence of *Moses* to an Occasion of Impiety, and forgetful of the true God, set themselves to copy the silly Fictions of *Ægypt*, and having made a *Golden Calf* after the Pattern of an Animal esteemed the most sacred in that Country, they offered impious Sacrifices, accompanied with abominable dancing and singing [d]. Which, as all Men of Learning ob-

[a] Οθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τινων ἱκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὐρετῶς, &c. *Jos. ibid. c. 20.*

[b] Reply, p. 46.

[c] Hanc opinionem adstruit *Philo*, Tar-

gum Hierosolymitanum, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Kircherus, Bochartus, & Auctores ab eo citati, quibus accedit Grotius, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. p. 21.

[d] *Philo de Vita Mos. p. 677.*

serve, are the very Instances of the Worship paid to the God *Apis* [a]. *Monsieur Rollin*, in his short History of the *Ancient Egyptians*, says, that the Golden Calf set up by the *Israelites*, was the effect of their Abode in *Ægypt*, and an Imitation of their God *Apis*, as well as those which were afterwards set up by *Jeroboam* [b]. And a Protestant Author quoted above, who never allows any thing that an orthodox Man can possibly deny, yet owns, that it was in Imitation of the *Ægyptian Apis*, that the Golden Calf was made in the *Wilderness* [c].

But should we admit, you say, that the *Ægyptian Apis* was worshipped as early, as I represent it, yet there are no grounds from Scripture Story to conclude, that the Golden Calf in the *Wilderness* had any Reference to that Worship: Or that the God or Gods which the *Jews* intended to worship under that Image, were any *Ægyptian Gods* [d]. Now this shews the little Acquaintance you have with Scripture, as well as the little Attention you pay to Reason and the Sense of Things: The *Israelites* had no sooner got clear of the *Ægyptians*, than they fell to the making and worshipping of Idols: The Question is, what sort of Idols it was, that they were so fond of worshipping: And does not Sense and Reason, and even Necessity teach us that they could be no other, than what they had been so long acquainted with, and worshipping for about two hundred Years before? For the learned *Spencer* has shewn, that during their Abode in *Ægypt*, they complied with all the Customs and Idolatry of the Country [e]. But there's no ground, you say, from Scripture Story to make this Conclusion: This is still stranger, that one who undertakes to defend Scripture with such Gravity, should betray so great an Ignorance of Scripture Story:

[a] Probatione id non indiget; cum & ritus in conflando vitulo adhibiti, tripudia, convivia chori, &c. id satis superque demonstrent—*Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt.* T. 1. p. 300. It. *Spenc. ib.*

[c] Itaque credibile est jam antiquitus tempore *Israelitarum* fuisse Idolum, cujus imitamine vitulum in deserto fecerunt—*Leidek. de Rep. Hebr.* p. 150.

[d] Reply, p. 47.

[b] See *Antient Hist. of the Ægypt.* done into Engl. p. 42.

[e] *De Leg. Hebr.* l. 1. p. 20.

For nothing is more clear and certain or more frequently inculcated in *Scripture Story*, than that the *Idolatry*, by which they so oft provoked God to punish them, and their Leaders and Prophets to reproach them, was such as *their Fathers had learnt and practised in Ægypt*. To give an Instance or two out of many.

Joshua, a little before his Death, very pathetically exhorts them, to put away the Gods, which their Fathers served on the other side of the Flood and in Ægypt [a]. And when they were in Possession of the promised Land, the same Inclination to the Idols of Ægypt still continued, as we find by the Reproofs of all the Prophets, on this very Account. Then said I unto them, cast ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not your selves with the Idols of Ægypt. But they rebelled against me—neither did they forsake the Idols of Ægypt [b]. All which is confirmed again by the Testimony of St. Stephen, if that have any weight with you, who mentions this very Case of the Golden Calf, as an Example and Proof of their turning back again in their Hearts into Ægypt [c].

The second Mistake you urge me with on this Head, is for asserting *Kircher* to have shewn, that *Hieroglyphicks* or the sacred Characters of Ægypt were invented and used before *Moses's* Time. But Sir *Isaac*, you say, has shewn the contrary; that *Thoth*, the reputed Inventor of those *Hieroglyphicks* was Contemporary with *Sesostris* or *Sbisac*, who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Reign of *Rehoboam*; And that *Moses* therefore could not borrow, as I intimate, the *Hieroglyphick* of the Serpent from the Ægyptians [d]. And here the Reader will observe another remarkable Instance of what I have more than once mentioned, viz. your rash and partial way of forming your Notions from Scraps and separate Quotations, without considering with any Care the very Authors you most admire. For tho' Sir *Isaac* asserts *Thoth*, who lived according to his Account in the time of *Solomon*, to have been the Inventor of common Letters and Writing [e], yet he is so far from

[a] Josh. xxiv. 14.

[b] Ezek. xix. 7, 8.

[c] Act. vii. 39.

[d] Reply, p. 48.

[e] Newt. Chron. p. 210.

ascribing to him the Invention of *Hieroglyphicks*, that he declares in exprefs terms, that the *Hieroglyphical way of writing* seems to have spread into lower *Ægypt* before the Days of *Moses*, and that some Reference is made to it in the second Commandment, which prohibits the worshipping of God under the Shape of Birds, Beasts and Fishes [a].

I shall conclude this Article with a Passage from Dr. *Spencer*, who has examined this Question with more Diligence, and treated it with more Learning and Judgment than any Man. *The mystical way of Writing in use with the Ægyptians, bears much Resemblance, says he, to that of the Hebrews.* This he confirms by the Authority of *Franciscus Valesius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, and then subjoins the following Remark. *Whence comes it then, that this Ænigmatical Stile of the Ægyptians and the Hebrews is found so exactly alike; but that God had so contrived his Law and its sacred Rites, that they might suit, as far as was possible, the Taste and Usage of that Age? For no Man who has any good Judgment can think, that the Ægyptians were in this Case the Disciples and Followers of the Jews; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that the Hieroglyphical Literature was ancients than Moses, and that the Ægyptians long before his Time used to cover their sacred Doctrines under the Veil of Symbols and Mystical Figures* [b].

And thus, Sir, after all Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations*, and your Descant upon them, I shall once more venture to affirm, that *Ægypt was in Moses's Time a great and flourishing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation.*

The last *Historical Fact*, you take notice of, advanced, as you say [c], against the Truth, is the *Confusion of Languages at Babel*. But how is this a Fact of my advancing? I have indeed made an Observation or two on the common way of explaining it; and 'tis this you contest with me, contrary to your own Declaration; not the *Fact* itself, but my Reasoning about it. Which

[a] Ibid. p. 225.

211, 212.

[b] De Legib. Heb. L. 1. c. 15. p.

[c] Rep. p. 51.

shews, as I've already hinted, the low Shifts you are put to, to blow up the Envy and Clamour you would raise against me.

And here I must again put the Reader in mind, that I am far from forming, as you call it, any *peremptory Judgment against the Mosaic Story of Babel* [a]. All that I attempted in *my Letter*, was to shew the Rashness and Imprudence of Dr. *Waterland's* way of defending it, in denying all *manner of probability or colour of Reason* to any Objections that could be made to it: And as I have proved against the *Doctor* and yourself, that the *dispersion of Mankind and peopling of the World*, must of course be the certain and necessary effect of an *encreasing Multitude*, flowing from the Reason and Nature of Things, exclusive of any *Miracle or the extraordinary Interposition of God*; so what I pretend to shew now, is, that the *Variety of Languages* may with *some colour of Reason and Probability* be accounted for too in the same way, as the natural and necessary Consequence of such Dispersion.

Let's consider Mankind in its infant State, as yet but one Family, tho' daily growing and encreasing so fast, as to be forced in Proportion to that Encrease to break off and separate from each other into several Parties or Colonies in quest of fresh Quarters and Provisions. That this must needs be the case of such a Multitude has already been shewn from the Nature of Things; and 'twas from the same Necessity of Nature, that the *Nations of the Earth were divided or peopled*, as the *Scripture* says, *by the Sons of Noah* [b].

Now as this Dispersion must have happened, whilst Mankind was yet rude and barbarous, unacquainted with Arts and Sciences, and even the common Inventions and Conveniencies of Life; so the Production of such Arts, the Improvement of Knowledge and Science, and the new Demands of Life daily arising must necessarily produce a *new Language* in each single Nation or separate People, unknown in a great measure to the rest of their Fellow Creatures. For as Names are generally but arbitrary Signs,

[a] Rep. p. 52.

[b] Gen. x. 32.

not drawn from the Nature or Qualities of the Things themselves, but formed by Fancy or Accident and confirmed by Use; so every thing new must necessarily create not onely a new Name, but a different one too from what the same thing, when invent ed, would obtain in a different People.

And thus a Difference of Languages being once established, the Mixture and Composition of several of them together, which follows of course from Conquests and the familiar Intercourse of different Nations, is another inexhaustible Source and Cause of multiplying that same Variety; just as the various changing and mixing the different Sounds of Bells produce an infinite Variation and Distinction of their Musick.

This short Hint of the *Origin of Languages* may suffice to shew the Folly of your asserting it to be *impossible, that there could have been such a Variety of them in the World, unless from some such Confusion as happened at Babel* [a]. The Reason you alledge for that *Impossibility* is trifling, without any Foundation in Fact or Truth: For you say, that if no such Miracle had happened, the *things which are of most common use in Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, could never have come in different Languages to be expressed by Words, which have not the least Affinity with one another*. But do not we see the same thing to have actually happened in all the modern Languages of the World, that are as it were but of Yesterday's rise and standing; that by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations *new Names* have been formed for the *most necessary Things of Life*, as well as the most obvious Parts of the Body?

One Part of *Italy* anciently called the *Mouth, Stoma*; the other Part, *Os*: now all call it *Bocca*; in French *Bouche*.

One Part called the *Eye, Ophthalmus*; the other *Oculus*: all now call it *Occhio*; in French *Oeil*.

One Part called the *Ear, Ouar*; the other *Auris*: all now *Orecchio*; in French *Oreille*, &c.

[a] Reply, p. 52.

A Defence of the LETTER

Now the grand Question you ask is, *What could tempt Men to create new Words, where they had old ones before, especially in things of common use, whose Names were every Day in every Man's Mouth?* The Answer is very easy: It was the natural and necessary Mutability of all human Things, that forced them by degrees to change their *old Words* for the more prevailing Sounds of such People, as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country; an Effect that will always follow the same Cause: And should *Italy* or *France* be again conquered by *Barbarians, Tartars, Turks, &c.* a new Language would necessarily arise from such an Event; and new Names for the most common Things of Life, neither *Barbarian* nor *Italian*, but a Jumble and Mixture of both.

And thus, Sir, I have gone thro' all your Cavils to my *Letter*, without finding the least Proof or Overt-act of the *Infidelity* you charge me with, besides my daring to differ from Dr. *Waterland* and yourself about the Mode of explaining some Circumstances of the *Mosaic History*. One great Part of the *Letter* you make so free with is employed in Defence of the *Christian Religion* against *Infidelity*; on such a Plan as I then thought and still think the most effectual to confute the Author I had to do with, and expose the Vanity of those Principles by which he hopes to overturn Christianity: And as our Saviour himself, when charged absurdly with the casting out of Devils by the Power of the Devil, shews the Folly of that Calumny by one plain Observation, that *a House divided against itself cannot stand*; so 'tis silly and absurd to imagine, that I should take such Pains to destroy the Credit of a Writer, who deserves so well of *Infidels*, had I been of the Number myself, or inclined to list into that Service. But I am so far from favouring *Infidelity*, that I should be heartily glad to see an Answer to *Christianity as Old &c.* on a better Plan and Foundation than what I have proposed: But as I am very certain, that this has not yet been done by Dr. *Waterland*; so I am as sure, by the Specimen you have given us, that it can never be done by yourself.

As I am a Stranger to your Name and Character, and have no other Light to form a Judgment of you by, but the Merit of the Piece I have been examining; so your injurious and insolent manner of treating me in that Piece, as an *Infidel and an Enemy to Christianity*; a *wilful Depraver of Facts and Quotations*, will fully justify any Freedom or Severity of Expression I may have used in this necessary Defence of myself; in which, however, if I have done you any Injustice, I shall always be ready, upon better Information and Acquaintance with you, to make you all the Amends and Satisfaction, that can be required from one, who in this, as well as every other Controversy, he may be engaged in, professes to have no other Motive, View or Intention whatsoever, than to search freely and impartially for the Truth.

S O M E
R E M A R K S
O N A
R E P L Y
T O T H E
D E F E N C E of the L E T T E R
T O
Dr. *W A T E R L A N D.*

Wherein the Author's Sentiments, as to all the principal Points in Dispute, are fully and clearly explained in the Manner that has been promised.

The Intendment of my Discourse is, that Permission should be in Questions speculative, indeterminate, curious and unnecessary; and that Men would not make more Necessities than God made: which indeed are not many. The Fault I find and seek to remedy is, that Men are so dogmatical and resolute in their Opinions, and impatient of others Disagreements in those Things, wherein are no sufficient Means of Union and Determination: but that Men should let Opinions and Problems keep their own Forms, and not be obtruded as Axioms; nor Questions in the vast Collection of the System of Divinity be adopted into the Family of Faith: and I think I have Reason to desire this.

Taylor Lib. of Prophef. Ep. Dedic. p. 12.

SOME
REMARKS
ON A
REPLY
TO THE
DEFENCE of the LETTER
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND.*

S I R,

YOU begin your *Reply* by observing; *that it was near twelve months before the Defence of my Letter appeared in print*: yet you make *no exceptions*, you say, *to the length of time*. To what purpose then do you set out with an observation so impertinent? Why; to introduce another much more so; *that a longer time would have past, before you could have prevailed with your self to have published such a Defence*. And for that matter, you need not be in any pain; every reader, I dare say, will allow it; that had you taken *twice twelve months*, it would not have been in your power to have produced *such an one*.

The next paragraph gives us a taste of *your vanity*: for you cannot hold out *ten lines*, without informing the reader, that you have forced me to *recant and plead guilty* to the charge of a *false quotation*:

quotation: and lest it should be forgotten, you repeat it a few pages after, and once more *renew your triumph* over me [a]. And here, whatever credit it gives you, or whatever shame it brings to myself, I must confess it to be true; that I have *recanted*, and *owned myself guilty of quoting falsely*, as you say, or as others will think, *too negligently*, in one instance: and had it been proved upon me in many more, would have owned it as readily; nor am I desirous to give any check to your pleasure, by observing, that it was in a point of no consequence; for had it been of much greater, I should have retracted the more freely: the onely use I shall make of it, is to shew the difference of your conduct and mine on this occasion: for, pray Sir, what is it in this controversy that you have retracted? Have you in any one instance *pleaded guilty*, or owned yourself confuted? No, you *insist upon it, that you have advanced nothing rashly in your whole Reply* [b]; *that you have made good every single instance of falsehood charged upon me*.

As to the truth of what you *insist upon*; we shall be better able to judge of it by and by: in the mean while, as I am here considering the difference of your temper and mine, as to *pleading guilty* on fair conviction; I shall out of many instances, produce onely *three or four*, in which you ought at least to have *pleaded guilty*; for if you have the Learning you pretend to, you must know yourself to be confuted; if the love of Truth and Religion, must know it your duty to confess it.

1. I had produced in *my Letter* a testimony of St. Stephen, to prove, that the *Ægyptians were possessed of learning in Moses's time* [c]. This testimony you treated with *such rashness*, as gave me occasion to charge you with overturning the very Foundations and *betraying the very Citadel of Revealed Religion* [d]; by supposing that a person full of the Holy Ghost, and under the actual influence of a Divine Spirit, could possibly assert any thing *erroneous*: and in this I was supported by the express declaration of Dr. Waterland himself, whose Defence you had undertaken.

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 25.

[b] Ibid. p. 3, 4.

[c] Letter, p. 23.

[d] Defence, p. 71.

Now what do you reply to this? Why, nothing at all directly; but mutter onely somewhat in a *parenthesis* [a], as if St. Stephen, when filled with the Holy Ghost, might yet consistently affirm what was false of facts, that have no relation to the Christian doctrine. Which is to allow in effect, that he might be full of the Holy Ghost, and full of error; full of truth, and full of falsehood too at the same time: a position, which no Christian will presume to defend; and which if I had but darkly hinted, the usual titles of *Freethinker* and *Infidel* would have been thought too soft for me. As in the case then of St. Stephen, all people were scandalized at your rashness; so your conduct would have been more edifying to the lovers of Truth and Religion, and more suitable to the zeal you pretend for both, had you endeavoured to repair that Scandal, by acknowledging your error, and pleading guilty to it; and not thro' a false pride and vanity, which every man must condemn, sought to bear down all before you, by insisting, that you have advanced nothing rashly.

2. As to the fact itself, of the learning and politeness of the Egyptians in Moses's time: after all your cry against me for the falsehood of my historical facts, it proved at last the only one, in which you attempted to fix that charge upon me, by the help of what you call Sir Isaac Newton's demonstrations and discoveries; where he has, as you declare, demonstrated my notions to be false [b]. In answer to this I have evinced the truth of my opinion so undeniably, from the testimony of all history, both sacred and profane; that every reader, I dare say, is convinced of it, and you yourself in fact allow it, by leaving me in possession of the question [c]. But you do it with so ill a grace, with so much reluctance and shuffling about it, as takes off all the credit of a liberal and ingenuous concession. For after you had rashly advanced the authority of Sir Isaac above Scripture itself, which cannot possibly be true, unless his Demonstrations, as you call them, be false; instead of taking any blame to yourself, you throw it all upon me,

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 81.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 42.

[b] Reply, p. 45.

for exposing that rashness and defending Scripture: for you labour to raise a clamour and envy against me for *insulting Sir Isaac*; and with your *usual rhetorick* movingly exclaim, *how low is the great Newton fallen! how ignorant in your opinion!* I have already declared my opinion of him to be *as great*, as I can possibly have of any *mortal*: yet the honour I have for his name must not deprive me of the privilege of judging for myself in all questions, that I am capable of understanding; and of thinking differently even from Sir *Isaac*, or any man else, as oft as the force of reasons obliges me.

You dismiss the question by assuring me, that *whenever I shall be inclined to treat it more fully, there shall not want one, who will attempt to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs*; and with this promise you leave me, as you say, *in possession of it*. But is not this a poor childish evasion; the stale shift of those, who having nothing to say or give, refer themselves to another time? Will the reader believe, that you would have *left me in possession* of any thing, you could have wrested from me? much less of a question, which bears the greatest shew of Learning, of any in the Controversy; and of that *single historical Fact*, which you have charged me *with falsifying*? If you had any real intention *to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs*, why did you not do it here; when it was your business to do it, when you were challenged to do it? I have entered fully and freely into an examination of them; have produced all I had to offer on the subject; which, however *slight* you declare it to be, will be thought by every body else sufficient and effectual to confute you: nay, what's worse; you plainly discover, that you think so yourself; and stand condemned in your own mind, and punished by a *filly pride*, that will not give you leave to own yourself in the wrong.

3. You charged me *in your Reply* [a], with *falsly asserting the Golden Calf in the Wilderness to have been made in imitation of the Egyptian Apis*; and affirmed withal, that there was *no ground*

[a] Reply, p. 46.

in Scripture-story for my notion [a]. In answer to which I observed, that the God *Apis* was worshipped in the *same form*, and with the *same ceremonies* as the *Golden Calf*: and that I had with me the concurrence of all the learned, who had touched this question, as well as of the *most zealous and orthodox defenders* of Christianity. And from *Scripture-story* I shewed; that the *Idolatry*, by which the *Isralites* so often provoked God, is said to be such as *their Fathers had learned and practised in Ægypt*; that the Idols they were fond of, even at the time of making the *Golden Calf*, are described as *Ægyptian ones*; and that *St. Stephen* alledges this very case of the *Calf*, as an instance of their *turning back in their hearts into Ægypt* [b]. Now can there be *any greater rashness* in a *Scholar*, than roundly to deny what men of learning from the reason of the thing and the testimony of history have been obliged to assert? Can there be *any greater* in a *Divine*, than to affirm, that *there's no ground in Scripture-story*, for what is so clearly confirmed by *many texts of Scripture*?

What then have you said to this in *your Reply*? Why, without giving any answer to *my Authorities*, or any other account of *my Scripture texts*; without alledging any *new Reasons*, or confuting the *old ones*; you stick firm to your point, and tell us plainly, that what you before said, *you still assert, that there are no grounds from Scripture-story, to think the Golden Calf to have been made in imitation of the Ægyptian Apis* [c]. How is it possible to deal with such a Writer, whose maxim, as oft as confuted, is to *assert still, and insist that he has advanced nothing rashly*?

4. But the next instance is still the most flagrant. In *your Reply to my Letter*, you will mention, you say, *but one mistake more of mine under this article*: very modest truly, to mention *but one*, where with the same truth you might have mentioned *twenty*. The mistake is; that I had asserted on the authority of the learned, that *Hieroglyphicks or sacred Characters were used in Ægypt before*

[a] Ibid. p. 47.

ii. 18. Ezek. xvi. 26. xxiii. 3, 8.

[b] Defence, p. 83, 84. See Jerem.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 43.

Moses: whereas you affirm, *Sir Isaac to have shewn that they were not so much as invented till the reign of Rehoboam [a]*. To this I answered, that *Sir Isaac was so far from having shewn what you affirmed of him, that he had directly shewn the contrary; had expressly allowed the very thing I asserted, that Hieroglyphicks were in use in the days of Moses [b]*.

And what have you *replied* to this? *not one syllable*. But will not every one reflect on what you ought to have *replied*? Ought you not to have recalled the mistake, *so rashly* charged on me, and taken it to yourself? and the more readily, for being so gross an one? Ought you not rather to have done any thing than *assert and insist* with such assurance that you *had advanced nothing rashly*; that *every single instance of falshood was made good against me [c]*? 'Tis such perverseness and disingenuity as this that confirms men in *Scepticism*, instead of convincing them; by *insisting* for ever on exploded nonsense and cramming down people's throats what all men of sense must nauseate. Is it possible after this to expect any thing candid or impartial from you in the way of argument? no, we shall not be deceived; you preserve a true unity of character through your whole performance; 'tis all of a piece; equal and uniform to itself from one end to the other:

——*Servatur ad imum,*

Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constat.

To illustrate it a little farther:

The design of *your Reply*, as 'tis declared by yourself, was to set forth the *falsehood of my Quotations and Historical Facts*: and your very *Title Page and Introduction* prepared us to expect that you would make good your charge against *them all*. Yet I observed, that when you came to the particulars, all you attempted to cavil at were *fifteen out of fourscore*; and that even *two* of that number had *no reference to any quotation at all*. Let's just consider, what you have *replied* to this. As to the *two instances* I ex-

[a] Reply, p. 48.

[b] Defence, p. 87.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 4.

clude from your list you are content, it seems, to exclude them too and *change the name if I do not like it* [a]. but why then were they added to the *account of Quotations*, when they had no relation to it, unless to enflame and enhance a *false charge*? You say withal, that you did not intend to attack *all my Quotations*, but *my original ones only* [b]. And by the instances you give, one would imagine, that by *original*, you mean *Latin and Greek ones*: as if my *English quotations*, which you do not meddle with, were not as truly *original* as those taken from *Herodotus*. But you define more distinctly your sense of *original ones*; telling us, that they are such, as I have not taken *at second hand on the authority of other writers*; for you never meant to charge me with *second hand Quotations*, knowing that if they are false, the Authors I take them from are answerable for the falshood of them. Why then do you charge me with one drawn from *Maimonides*, on the *authority of Spencer*; and which *Spencer*, you say, took from *Buxtorf* [c]? Is not this by your own definition doubly a *second handed one*? Why do you charge to my account likewise [d] another taken from *the Rabbins*, on the *authority of Lightfoot*? Is not this too a *second hand Quotation*? So that your *Reply* in this case, as in most others, is so shuffling and inconsistent, as shews you determined at all adventures rather to defend every thing rashly, than yield up any thing ingenuously.

'Tis not worth while to follow you again thro' all the cavils of your *first Reply*, which you now repeat and insist on in your *second*. A Controversy would be the business of life, if we must treat it at this rate, and dwell for ever on the same facts. I have already said enough on each, and am content to leave the merit of it to the judgment of the reader: however, to shew you that I have no other reason for declining any debate or argument you offer, but merely to save time and cut short unnecessary squabbles,

[a] Reply to Def. p. 32.

[b] Ib. p. 6.

[c] Ib. p. 28.

[d] Ib. p. 30.

I shall run over again with you *two or three* of your instances, where you fancy yourself the strongest, or have added some *new force* to your former exceptions.

You urge then afresh in your *second Reply*, with regard to what I have quoted from *Cicero*; that *Cicero's true Sentiments are not to be found under the character of his Academic Speakers [a]*: and tell us withall, that it was on this very *Article* that the *Author of the Discourse on Free-thinking* received such chastisement from *Phileleutherus Lipfienfis*, that you never expected to see any one so venturesome, as to assert the same thing again. And I readily allow, that the *Free-thinker* you mention received a very proper correction from *Phileleutherus Lipfienfis*; whose great learning likewise I am as ready as yourself to acknowledge: but I assure you, Sir, that at the time of writing *My Letter*, I did not recollect what either of those Authors had said on the Subject; but used on this, as on all other occasions, the right I claim of judging for myself: yet I am apt to think, that the *Learned Writer* we are speaking of, either does not insist so much, as you imagine, on what he has advanced, or thinks it at least consistent with the use I make of *Cicero*, from the principle he himself lays down; that the reasoning is the same, from whatever quarter it comes, and the Authority not the less, though transferred from *Cicero* to a *Stoic [b]*; for 'tis very credibly reported, that on reading *My Letter to Dr. Waterland*, before any name had been mentioned of the supported Author, he did in very strong terms express his approbation of it.

But to return to the question: *Cicero* is allowed on all hands to have been a *professed and sincere follower of the Academy*: this he declares, in every part of his Works, and owns himself indebted for all the *Talents and Abilities* he was master of, to the precepts and principles of *that Philosophy*. Where then are we to look for his *real Sentiments* on any question; but where that

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 8.

thinking, Part II. p. 78.

[b] Remarks on Discourse of Free-

question is treated professedly and elaborately according to the principles and maxims of the Academy? This is the case in his second Book of Divination, where he disputes in his own person; and where he declares, that the chief purpose of that Disputation was to explode Superstition; as it was likewise in his other Book of the Nature of the Gods [a]: which is not applicable to any other part in this Book, but that onely, which Cotta sustains. Dr. W. tells us, that Tully's Disputants in these very Books, De natura Deorum, & de Divinatione, debate in good earnest, and represent the sense of the several contending parties to the best advantage [b]. And if so, then the Sentiments affirmed by Cotta, must be considered as the Sentiments of Cicero himself, as they were the Sense of the Academic party represented to the best advantage.

And as to the declaration, that Cicero makes in the end of this Dialogue in favour of the Stoicks; I am still of opinion, that it may be considered as a complement to Brutus, to whom this very Book is addressed; by giving a slight preference to his Philosophy; tho' himself at the same time really followed and preferred another kind [c]. But this you call strange, and wonder how I can suppose Cicero to have complimented with such insincerity [d]. But 'tis more strange, to hear a man of gravity talking so childishly. For what is it, I would know, that you take Cicero to have been? Some Bigot perhaps in Religion; who reckoned it a point of Conscience, not to depart a tittle from the rigour of his principles: or some Pedant in Letters; who thought it a diminution to his character, not to assert on all occasions the supreme prerogative of his own judgment. No, Sir, I impute no insincerity to him, but what is suitable to his high merit and character, such as would dispose him, for the ease and politeness of conversation, not to insist always on the strictness of his Sentiments, but to yield up

[a] De Div. l. 2. cap. ult.

[b] Script. Vind. Part II. p. 7.

[c] Quod genus Philosophiæ minime argans, maximèque & constans & ele-

gans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus, de Div. l. 2. 1.

[d] Reply to Defence, p. 10.

somewhat even of his own persuasion, to do a civility or pleasure to his Friend. A behaviour, which, however *strange* to you, will hardly do him discredit with any body else.

But the words I quoted are so far, you say, from giving *Cicero's* opinion, that they do not so much as represent *Cotta's*, who speaks them: This notion I have already treated as it deserves [a]: but you insist upon it again, and enforce it by a new proof, drawn from what *Cotta* in the close of his argument says to his *Antagonist*; *facile me a te vinci posse, certò scio*. From which you infer, that *Cotta's* approbation of the Sentiments he had been asserting, is inconsistent with the declaration he makes of his knowing for certain that *Balbus* could confute him [b]. And here again you fall into the same mistake of treating a *meer* compliment, as if it were a *solemn* and *categorical* affirmation. A *mere* compliment, I say; which every body who knows any thing of good manners or good sense will see at once to be such: though 'tis, I'm persuaded, *such an one*, as you will never make, of allowing any man *able to confute you*. *Cotta*, in closing his argument, throws it into the hands of *Balbus*, in a polite manner, by declaring, that *he knew it to be in his power to confute him with ease*: A civil turn of expression; very common on all occasions of easy debate, whether publick or private: yet you argue from the *strict* sense of the words, as if *Cotta* were declaring his *strict* Sentiments: in which you contradict the very authority you follow, of *Phileleutherus* himself, who says, that in this very *Book of the Nature of the Gods*, none of the disputants concede; all stand firm to their principles [c]. Besides; whilst you lay so much stress on these words, and assert them *strictly* to bear, that *Cotta knew for certain*, &c. you forget what you had allowed the page before, that it was the peculiar character of the *Academy* to know nothing for certain.

Again; to shew that the part assigned to *Cotta* did in fact contain *Cicero's* real Sentiments, I observed, that in his *second Book* of

[a] Defence, p. 10.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 11.

[c] Remarks on Discourse of Freethink.
Part II. p. 73.

Divination, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side and uses the same arguments, to confute the opinions of the Stoicks about Religion and Divination [a]. And here, after puzzling a while to find out my meaning, you suppose it at last to be, that Cicero in this Book had disputed against Religion: which you affirm to be false, and produce Cicero's own words to prove it [b]. But whatever you affirm, or whatever you take Cicero to mean, I here again declare; that Cicero in his second Book of Divination disputes against Religion, as it was explained and understood by the Stoicks; who held Divination to be an essential and principal part of it. If there are Gods, there is Divination, was fundamental with them; as you might have learnt from Cicero himself, who calls this very Article, the fortress or citadel of the Stoical Religion [c]. And to dispute against Divination was not onely to dispute against the Religion of the Stoicks, but against the popular or established Religion too; which, as every one knows, was founded on the supposition of the truth of Divination, and most of its offices and ceremonies instituted on that sole foundation, which must of course fall to the ground, were Divination taken away [d].

But how then, you'll say, are we to understand Cicero, when he declares in this same Book, that he has no design to take away Religion? Very easily; by considering him onely as talking like a Philosopher: that though he was confuting the superstitious notions of the Stoicks, yet he did not mean by that to destroy the Religion of Reason and Nature, founded in the belief of a God and his Providence: and though he declared for preserving the Rites and Ceremonies established by their Ancestors; yet it was for reasons of policy, and the ends of government onely; not that he thought them any part of the true and rational Religion, which men of sense ought to follow [e].

You

[a] Defence, p. 9.

[b] Reply to Defence. p. 9.

[c] Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, Quinte, defendis, si quidem ista sic recipiuntur; ut &, si divinatio sit, Dii sint, & si Dii sint, sit divinatio, de Div. l. 1. c.

[d] Cum omnis populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit; tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sybillæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt, Nat. Deor. 3. 2.

[e] Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris

You proceed to enforce an exception of yours, to a quotation from *Josephus*, about the use of *Circumcision in Ægypt*. Where I must recommend one general remark to the reader, and desire him to apply to *all your Cavils* of this kind; *viz.* that if on any occasion, thro' haste or eagerness, I have laid more stress on any *testimony*, than it will strictly and singly bear, yet 'tis always in cases where I have either supported *the same fact by other full and clear authorities*, or where 'tis allowed and notorious, that it can be so supported. So that whatever may be objected to the exactness of any *particular quotation*, it makes no alteration in the state of the question itself. This will be explained by the instance before us.

I had quoted *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, to prove, that *Circumcision was universally practised by the Ægyptians*; in confirmation of which, I added likewise a passage of *Josephus*; that does not, it seems, come up to the very point of *universal practice*: now without taking any notice of the other authorities, which establish the fact, you catch hold of this; run away with the cry of *false quotation*; and fancying, that you have got the reader on your side, and can now persuade him to any thing, you presently form an *Hypothesis* out of your own brain; that *the Ægyptian Priests onely were circumcised*; that *these Priests taught the Priests of other nations to be so too*; and that it was not for the sake of cleanliness, as I translate καθαρίοντες, but of purity; just as it was among the Jews [a]. All which particulars I have severally considered and confuted [b]. But this rude way of confuting does not please you; you call it *dropping the question and drawing off the reader from the charge brought against me* [c]. And 'tis indeed drawing off his attention from words, to things; from trifles, to

cris cæremoniisque retinendis sapientis est: & esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam & eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum cælestium cogit considerari. Quamobrem ut religio propaganda

est, quæ est juncta cum cognitione naturæ; sic superstitionis stirpes omnes ejiciendæ. *de Div.* 2. 72.

[a] Reply, p. 15.

[b] Defence, p. 19.

[c] Reply to Def. p. 16.

truth;

truth; not, as you say, by *dropping*, but keeping strictly to the merits of the question: which you are forced in effect to give up, by declaring here, *that whether the Ægyptians were generally circumcised or no, is no material inquiry* [a].

To what purpose have you spent so much pains in inquiring about it? And why do you employ some pages of *your second Reply*, to prove the negative? Which you endeavour to do by the help of a fresh authority from *Josephus*; who in giving an account of the death of Apion, an Ægyptian, tells us, *that he was forced to be circumcised on account of a distemper, of which he died* [b]. Upon which you give this decisive and declarative sentence; *that it may suffice to shew, both that the Ægyptians in general did not practise this rite, and that Josephus knew very well that they did not*. Yet this very fact, from which you decide so dogmatically, will be found at last very little to your purpose; and like some other authorities you alledge, tho' it has some shew, has no foundation. The thing asserted is, *that the Ægyptians under the flourishing state of their ancient Monarchy and Religion were generally circumcised*: and you to confute it, oppose the case of a *single Ægyptian*; which is not pretended to have happened, till after *their Monarchy and Religion* had been dissolved, and the Country converted to a *Roman Province*. How judicious and conclusive such reasoning is, I shall leave to the reader.

But you tell me here, that *I have as ill luck as ever at quotations* [c]; because I observe, that *Josephus makes no other reflection on the account Herodotus gives, of Circumcision's being borrowed from Ægypt; than that of such things every one may think as he pleases*. This you affirm, to be a *most false representation of the matter*. To which I may answer, that whether it be *true or false*, it is of no consequence to any point in debate: The use I make of *Josephus*, is to shew, that in his account of *scriptural facts*, he allows a *greater latitude* of interpreting and explaining them, than *modern Advocates* do; and if he really does so, in *facts* of

[a] Reply to Defence. p. 16.

[b] Ibid. p. 18.

[c] Ibid. p. 10.

greater moment and importance to *Religion* than this, as I shall clearly shew hereafter; then the use I make of him is certainly just, however I have represented him here: but I shall insist upon it withall, that in this very case, 'tis not *my representation*, but *your charge* upon me that is *false*. You imagine, that the reflection made here by *Josephus*, that *of such things every one may think as he pleases*; relates wholly to the *Story of Shisac's plundering the City and Temple of Jerusalem*; and to the question, whether *Herodotus* refers to the same event, or no: and I allow, that the account of this story, and the proof of its being mentioned by *Herodotus*, make the substance of the paragraph: and what is said about *Circumcision*, seems thrown in by way of confirmation of it: upon which immediately follows the reflection above mentioned, that closes the whole: which, however applicable to the other contents of the paragraph, yet cannot be interpreted so, as to exclude a reference to the *case of Circumcision*, that immediately precedes it: nay, by all rational construction must be thought, if not solely, yet principally to refer to it; because as far as I have observed or can recollect of *Josephus*; tho' he uses the *same reflection* very often, yet he never applies it but to *some fact or point of great moment*, to the truth or essential character of the *Jewish Religion*. Now as the *story of Shisac* in this paragraph is of no consequence to the *Jewish Nation or Religion*; so 'tis rational to think the reflection, 'tis closed with, applicable to the case of *Circumcision*, which is of consequence. But of this we shall be better able to judge, after I have explained my sentiments on the other more important passages of *Josephus*.

I shall just touch *another of your cavils*, which you insist on again in your *said Reply*. I had observed of the *Ægyptians*, that *they were more addicted to miracles and prodigies, than all other people*. And referred myself for the truth of my observation to a passage of *Herodotus*: in which I deceive my reader, you say [a], at the expense of a false quotation. To this I answered; that the word *τίματα* in the original, on which the sense of the passage turns, carries the

[b] Reply, p. 23, 24.

notion of miracles, as well as prodigies; that a superstitious regard to the one necessarily implied the same regard to the other; and that in fact, it was certain from other authorities, that the Egyptians were just as much addicted to miracles as to prodigies [a]. Now what do you say to all this? Do you deny any one article of it? No. Do you pretend to say that τέρατα does not signify miracles? No. You own it does. Do you shew or so much as hint, that the Egyptians were not as much addicted to the one as to the other? No; all that you do, is to assert and insist still, that the word, miracles, is neither expressed nor implied in the sentence [b]. For my part, in all Disputes of this kind, 'tis my care to attend to things, instead of cavilling at Words; and where I allow the general purpose of a testimony to be true, am content to overlook any little inaccuracies of rendring it; for if like you, I was disposed to squabble and fight my way thro' every syllable of a quotation, instead of the few you except to of mine, there is hardly a single one of yours, that I could not with the same truth charge with falsehood and misrepresentation. Let's take for instance the first Greek one we find, at the bottom of your page; which you translate thus: for all the Ceremonies of the Temple, and a thousand other precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves onely to the Allegorical Signification [c]. Now the word All, about which you make such a rout in both your Replies [d], is neither expressed nor understood in the original; nor is there any word that answers directly to, Ceremonies; nor so much as a tittle, that signifies Precepts; and what you translate, a thousand, ought to be rendered ten thousand; what you render, confine ourselves to, ought to be rendred attend to. Why then may not I exclaim here with as much justice as you do; what gross misrepresentation is this, where there are almost as many offences against strict Translation, as there are words? But I scorn to waste my time and pains in such trifling; shall give up all that field of

[a] Defence, p. 48.

[b] Reply to Def. p. 22.

ἔωμεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλούμεναις. Ibid.

p. 51.

[c] Τῶς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστίας καὶ μυσίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις προστι-

[d] See Reply, p. 23. Item, Reply to Defence, p. 20.

Criticism to yourself; nor envy you the credit of Learning and Judgment that such arts can procure you.

As to *your other Cavils at my Quotations*, I shall leave them where they stand to the judgment of the Reader; and if he compares what I have said in defence of them, with the force of what you have objected, I need be in no pain for the judgment he will make: *the quotations themselves are produced to shew, that the Jews had borrowed some of their ceremonies and customs from Ægypt: this is the only point in question; and if you had replied to any purpose, or had any real concern for truth, 'twas your business to have joined issue on that; to have examined into the real state of it: which after two Replies you have industriously declined. The Fact has been constantly asserted by men of the greatest Learning, and the most conversant in both Jewish and Ægyptian Antiquity [a]; without any suspicion that the acknowledgment of it could be of any disservice to true Religion. Calmet, the most diligent of the modern Commentators, tells us, that as Moses came out of Ægypt, and the people, whose Leader he was, had been trained in all the customs, laws and religion of that country; it was not possible for him as Legislator to propose any thing to them, but in conformity to the ideas, impressions and habits they were prepossessed with. That they had a surprising inclination to Idolatry, from their education in an idolatrous country, where they gave themselves up to the established Religion with pleasure and greediness, as it was adapted to their genius, and agreeable to their inclination: and that we must attend to, and carry this notion along with us, in order to enter into the design and spirit of the Mosaic writings [b]. Dr. Spencer's famed work on this very subject is at this day greatly and justly admired in all Christian countries; and his zeal for Revealed Religion, so little questioned on that account, that Archbishop Tenison left fifty pounds by will, as a reward to the publisher of a new Edition of*

[a] Non negaverim Mosem cum jura
conderet, retinuisse leges aliquas Ægyptior.
&c. Huet. Dem. Evangel. 88. xi.

[b] Comment. Pref. Gen. p. vi. and
p. x.

it, with the *posthumous additions of the Author*; which we have seen not long since executed by a learned Divine: and to declare my own opinion of the fact; I take it to be so clearly grounded in the *testimony of History, both sacred and profane*, that if it cannot be looked upon as *absolutely certain*, yet it is at least so *highly probable*; that to deny it rashly and peremptorily, as *some Divines* are disposed to do, will always do mischief instead of service to the *Christian Cause*, by giving disgust and offence to candid and impartial inquirers. For *nothing*, as Bishop Tillotson wisely observes [b], *has been more pernicious to the Christian Religion, than the vain pretence of men to greater assurance concerning things relating to it, than they can make good; the mischief of which is this; that when discerning and inquisitive men find that men pretend to greater matters, than they can prove, this makes them doubt of all they say, and to call in question the truth of Christianity itself.*

'Twas this reflection, that gave rise to this Controversy; and the motive of publishing *my Letter to Dr. W.* was a persuasion, that he was pursuing the very method condemned by the Archbishop; taking *greater matters* upon himself *than he could prove*; dogmatizing with *greater assurance of things* than he could *make good*: and the intention of my address to him was to shew him the danger of what, in my judgment, he had *rashly* undertaken and was *rashly* executing; and not to declare *any sentiments of my own*: to convince him, that his *arbitrary manner* of deciding questions of the utmost nicety and difficulty; by not allowing *the least colour of reason or probability* to any objections; but imputing them all to the *ignorance, malice and wickedness* of the objectors, was not the proper way to *convince*, but to *shock* every rational Sceptick. It was with this view I proposed, what I have offered in *My Letter*, about *the History of Man's fall, Circumcision, the Confusion of Languages, the Dispersion of Mankind, &c.* in order to shew the *literal account* and solution of those facts to be charged with difficulties, sufficient to puzzle even the

[a] Tillotson's Works, Vol. III. p. 452.

strongest reason: which, instead of being slubbered over, as trifling and insignificant, must be candidly owned and calmly and freely examined, before *Religion* can be established on a *firm and solid foundation*.

And 'tis certain at least after all our endeavours, that some things will be found in *Scripture*, which no wit of man can account for, or reconcile to *the natural dictates of reason*: and which must be left to *the wisdom of God* to clear up in his own good time. *Porphyry*, as *St. Jerom* says, *used to object and demand, for what reason a merciful God could for so many ages, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to Christ, suffer whole Nations to perish thro' ignorance of his will and law: and why it was necessary for Christ to come so late, and not before an innumerable multitude of men had been lost? Which question, says he, the blessed Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, most prudently handles, owning his ignorance, and referring it to the knowledge of God. Which ought to teach all others, as he says, the same modesty of owning their ignorance too in questions of this sort [a],*

But neither the *example of the Apostle*, nor the *admonition of the Father*, can restrain the *adventurous Spirit of our modern Champions* from undertaking this very question; and proving, that, whatever *St. Paul* thought, there's no occasion to own any ignorance at all; for that the fact objected is found at last to be false, and there really was *no period of time*, in which the Nations of the World wanted light and opportunity of knowing the *Revealed Will and standing Law of God* [b].

But to resume what I was saying, of the *History of Man's Fall, the Confusion of Languages; and the Dispersion of Mankind*: As the first is a point of great moment, I shall take occasion to explain myself fully upon it by and by: in order to which, I shall

[a] Quam quæstionem beatus Apostolus ad Romanos scribens, prudentissime ventilat, ignorans hæc, & Dei concedens scientiæ. Dignare & tu ista nescire quæ quæris. Concede Deo potentiam sui, ne-

quaquam te indiget defensore, *Hier. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. Op. T. IV. Par. II. p. 481. Edit. Bened.*

[b] See *Scripture Vindicated*. Par. II. Postscript.

here dismiss the *two last*, by desiring the Reader onely to recollect the *Observation* made above; that I was not *declaring* here any *Sentiments* of my own, but shewing onely the insufficiency of what was advanced by Dr. *W.* And if on this, or any other occasion, I have used a *greater freedom or levity of expression*, than is thought decent on *questions of such importance*; I hope it may be some excuse for me, that I was writing as a *person concealed*: a circumstance, that naturally disposes to more freedom, than a Man would otherwise take; especially when he hopes by that very means the more effectually to disguise his real character; as well as to raise an attention to what he has to offer by *some sting and spirit* in the manner of offering it. Dr. *W.* greatly contemns his *Antagonist*, for being *dull, insipid and without poignancy* [a]: so that it was necessary for me to address him in a *different stile*; that if I did not happen to please, I might at least have the fortune to escape his contempt. With this reflection let the reader review what I have said on the *story of Babel*; and he will see, that I have passed *no peremptory judgment* upon it; declared no other opinion but this; that *the origin of languages may, with some colour of reason and probability, be accounted for in a natural way*.

As for the *Dispersion of Mankind*, I am very certain, that Dr. *W.*'s account and your defence of it will appear *absurd and irrational* to every judicious reader: and as I do not find in *Scripture*, that there was *any miracle or extraordinary interposition of God* employed to effect it; so I think myself at *liberty* to solve and explain it in any manner agreeable to *reason*: what I have proposed to that purpose, is, in my judgment, a cause fully adequate to the end, and what could not fail to bring it about, as soon as there was occasion, from the *very nature and necessities of human kind*.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the use I make of *Josephus's Authority*; as well as to consider the force of your objections on this head.

[a] Scripture Vindicated. Par. II. p. 36.

In the first place then, you allow *Josephus* to have been a wise and excellent *Apologist* of the *Jewish Religion and Government*, and a true lover of both; and suggest several reasons, why it would not have been prudent in him, to have insisted strongly on *Moses's Miracles*, or the *Divine Authority* of the *Jewish Religion*; that he knew he was treading on dangerous ground; and that 'twas his business to guard against giving offence to the prejudiced *Heathens*; that in many parts of his *Antiquities*, where he relates a *Miracle*, he leaves his readers to think of it, as they please, without exacting from them a full belief of it: and in short, that in his *Book* against *Apion*, he wholly omits the mention of *Moses's Miracles* [a.]

Now this, Sir, is owning much more, than is necessary to justify the full use I endeavour to draw from him: that as he, whose sincerity in his Religion is confessed, and whose prudence in the defence of it applauded, allowed a liberty of thinking, and a latitude of explaining some scriptural facts of great moment; so our modern Advocates ought to temper their zeal with the same prudence, by leaving likewise some liberty in the explication of the same facts. And your own account proves my inference to be not onely just, but temperate too: for I do not contend for all the liberty which *Josephus* has given; but where he has given so much, that our *Apologists* might reasonably indulge some.

Josephus's design in his *Book* against *Apion* was, by your own account of it, exactly the same with *Dr. W.'s* in his *Book* against *Christianity as old, &c.* that is, to confute [b] the particular objections and calumnies of *Infidels* and prejudiced persons, who represent *Moses* as an *Impostor*, and his laws as making men worse instead of better. Now if *Josephus* acted wisely in not pressing, as you say, too forwardly the *Miracles* and *Divine Authority* of *Moses*; but endeavouring by a prudent and detxrous way of treating those points to soften and win the *Infidels* to his side: then 'tis reasonable to infer, that *Dr. W.* not onely might, but ought to have followed

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 64, &c.

[b] Ibid. p. 67.

his example, in points at least of less moment: and such a conduct must have been esteemed in the Doctor, what you declare it to have been in *Josephus*; the effect of a *sincere zeal and love for his Religion*.

You tell us very gravely, that *Josephus had no view either in his Book of Antiquities, or That against Apion to make converts to Judaism; but onely to give the Greeks and Romans a favourable opinion of the Jewish Nation* [a]. But does not an elaborate Attempt to recommend his Religion as effectually as he can, and to turn the prejudices conceived against it into a favourable opinion of it, necessarily imply a design of making converts? If not, I am at a loss to know what other way there is of making any. The *Bishop of Meaux's famed Piece*, in which he dresses up so moderate and qualified a Picture of Popery, as to offend the Zealots even of his own Religion, was not written, you may say, with any view to make converts; but to give the Protestants onely, a favourable opinion of the Popish Religion, and take off their prejudices against it: but would not people be apt to laugh at you for saying so? The case is much the same in what you say of *Josephus*.

Your next observation is more trifling: that it would not have been safe for him to have acted otherwise; that his life was at the mercy of the Heathens; and to have pressed the Divine Authority of his Religion more strongly, would have been looked on as an open disparagement of the Roman Religion and Laws too. And what he says therefore of Minos was for fear of offending those, who had received his laws as given from Heaven [b]. But was there then in Old Rome, as there is in the New, an Inquisition established for the security of the Publick Religion? Or what zeal could a Roman Emperor have for the laws of Minos, made so many ages before, for the little Island of Crete; which by that time, we may suppose, had been long antiquated? No, Sir, all this reasoning of yours has no foundation in truth or history; 'tis merely talking at random, and deserves no other answer, than that of ridicule.

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 65.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 66, 72.

As to the *Book of Jewish Antiquities*, the fact is ; that *Josephus*, in order to take off the *prejudice and aversion*, which the World had generally conceived to the *Jews*, and to give the best impression he was able of their *Religion and Polity*, undertakes to draw out a *perpetual History* of both, from the *Records of the Old Testament*, in a language at that time the most universally known and practised of any other : declaring, that his intention was not to vary a tittle from what he found in the *Sacred Books* ; and that he was to be considered onely as a mere *Interpreter of them* [a]. Now in the execution of this work you observe, that *Josephus expresses himself very plainly in many passages, on the Article of Moses's Inspiration and the divine origin of the Law* [b]. And reason good, that he should do so ; where he professes to speak nothing but what the *Scriptures plainly dictate* : so that, as oft as the *Scriptures* have occasion to mention the *Inspiration of Moses*, so oft was he obliged to mention it too, from the very nature of the task he had undertaken : and in all such places we can collect nothing certain of *Josephus's real opinion*, but of the *sense of Scripture* onely ; which he had obliged himself to follow. But whenever he *varies from that Scripture* ; as he does remarkably in many cases ; *contrary to his own declaration* ; and without any other reason than what depended on his own choice ; and where in the relation of any fact, he gives a *different turn* to it, from what we find in the *Mosaick account*, 'tis there, we are to look for the *Sentiments and Principles of Josephus*.

Now all men of learning observe, that *his History* is in many particulars *very different from that of Moses* ; that he *adds some things of his own* ; *wholly omits others* ; and interprets most of them so, as to give them the easier credit *with the Heathens* ; and this especially, in the *article of Miracles*. *Fabricius* has collected the censures of learned men upon him on this very account [c] : and *Peter Brinch*, a learned *Divine and critical reader* of him,

[a] Proœm. in Lib. I. Antiq. & Lib. X. c. x. §. 6.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 65.

[c] Vid. Fabricii Biblioth. Gr. l. 4. c. 6. it. Havercamp. Edit. Joseph. Vol. 2. Append. p. 57.

has given us his own ; where he tells us, *that it was a fault not uncommon with him, to relate the Miracles from Sacred Writ in such a manner, as to make them even doubtful and suspected* [a]. For instance ; where he gives an account of the wonderful appearance of God on Mount Sinai, he interposes this reflection very usual with him ; *of these things the reader may think as he pleases ; 'tis necessary for me to relate them, just as they are written in the Sacred Books* [b]. To the story of Nebuchadnezzar, he subjoins the same reflection *let no man blame me for delivering these particulars, as I found them in the old Books : for in the beginning of my History I declared, that I acted only the part of a Translator, &c* [c]. And in the next Chapter, after an account of Daniel and his Prophecies, he concludes the Book by saying ; *for my part, as I have found and read these things, so I have written them ; but if any man be disposed to think differently about them, he shall not be blamed by me for his different way of thinking* [d]. Lastly, in the account of the Prophet Jonah, excusing himself, as it were, for delivering a story so strange, he twice puts the reader in mind *that he writes only what he takes from the Scripture* [e].

'Tis to no purpose to collect any more instances of this kind, or the variations he has made from Moses, or the natural causes hinted in the case of some miracles ; or his omissions of some remarkable facts, as of the Golden Calf, the Brazen Serpent, &c. all supposed to be done with the same view of recommending his Religion to Strangers. The use I make of this is, to shew the truth of what I had gathered from *this very Book of Antiquities, that his real Sentiments of the Divine Authority of Moses* were not carried to *that height*, to which our Divines commonly push theirs : and this you modestly call, *the rashness of my assertion, or the negligence of my*

[a] Nec rarum Josepho istud vitium est, quod divina ex sacris literis miracula ita referat, ut dum refert, dubia lectoribus & suspecta reddat, &c. Edit. Havercamp. *ibid.* p. 301.

[b] Antiq. I. III. c. v. §. 2.

[c] Ibid. l. X. c. x. §. 6.

[d] Antiq. c. xi. ad. fin.

[e] Ibid. c. x. §. 2.

reading [a]; though all men of learning allow it; even those, who allow at the same time, as you do, that *Josephus was sincere and zealous in his Religion*. And if, *zealous* as he was, he took a *liberty* himself, and indulged it to others, of solving by different ways the great events recorded in *Scripture*; a conduct, which you, in effect, declare to be *wise and prudent*; it follows of course, that *the inference*, I made, is reasonable, and what I must insist upon again; that our *zealous Advocates of Christianity*, ought for the same reasons, of *not giving offence to Infidels*, and *hurting the cause they would vindicate*, to follow his example at least so far as to use *some degree of temper and moderation*, where he is justly thought to have used *too much* of it.

From this general view of *Josephus's Writings*, I come once more to consider *the particular passage* in dispute between us taken from his *Book against Apion [b]*: which you call my *Master-piece of Quotation*. I had before observed that the dispute turned wholly on a *point of fact*, about what *Josephus had or had not said* in this place; and that I was not declaring *any opinion of my own*, but examining *onely into that fact*. But as this caution has not proved sufficient to guard me from *envy and clamour*, so I must again beg the reader to attend more distinctly to the *true state of the Question*, and not to charge on me the Sentiments, which the nature of the Controversy leads me to charge on *Josephus*.

Now after a due examination of what you have offered in your *second Reply* to my exposition of the passage before us; I find myself obliged to persist still in what I had before declared; that we cannot by any fair and rational construction draw out of this paragraph *any notion of the Divine Mission and Inspiration of Moses*, in that high sense of it in which 'tis commonly received, without the help of that *prejudice and prevention*, we come possessed with, in favour of the notion we search for. You tell us yourself, that in *this Book against Apion the invention of Moses's miracles is intirely*

[a] Reply to Def. p. 75.

[b] Contr. Ap. lib. II. c. 16.

omitted [a]: and does not this concession prepare us for the very interpretation I give? To confirm which, we are to consider the *general tenor and scope* of the paragraph; to connect one part with another so, as to make them severally consistent with the obvious sense of the whole: and not to dwell, as you do, on the rigorous meaning of *two or three* words, which cannot be admitted, without controuling and over-ruling the clear sense of *an hundred*. But since much more has already been said on this passage, than the merit of it will justify; I shall take notice onely of *one of the difficulties* you charge in *your second Reply*; since the clearing up of this will be decisive and effectual to the confutation of all the rest.

The difficulty I mean relates to the last sentence in the paragraph, which I have translated thus. *Some have thrown the form of their publick affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few, or an Oligarchy: others into the multitude, or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these, but if a man may use an expression so forced, made the form of Government he instituted, a Theocracy* [b]. Where the last words, I say, *clinch the whole* to the sense I had been establishing. But you object here, that I have *falsly and absurdly* translated the words, *Θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε*, *he made his Government, a Theocracy: whereas, it plainly signifies, what the Old Latin Interpreter gave; he declared it to be so; he proposed, and delivered it, as a Theocracy* [c]. And when the Words, you say, *are thus rightly rendered, they are very far from clinching the whole, or confirming my explication*. Here then we join issue; if my translation be true, you will own it to *clinch the whole* to my sense; if yours appear to be so, I will retract and recall mine. *The issue is short*; let's proceed to the trial of it.

And as in all questions of this kind, the first inquiry ought to be about the turn and meaning of the whole connected sentence; so we will first consider here, to what sense of the word, *ἀπέδειξε*,

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 67, 68.

passage.

[b] Defence, p. 29. See the whole

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 69, 70.

the context directs us. Josephus is giving a short hint of the form of the Jewish Government, in the institution of which he tells us, that the Lawgiver had no regard to any of the different kinds subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy: now these words, you will own, are applicable to Moses, acting authoritatively in his own proper person: but they are not onely impertinent, but absurd, if what immediately follows is not to be applied so too: they lead us to imagine, that he was projecting a form of Government, and looking abroad into the world to consider the various kinds of it among other people; and that he resolved at last to take his pattern from none of them, but to make his own of a different kind from them all. For what could Josephus mean by telling us, that Moses had no regard to any other form; if he meant in the next words to tell us, that he had no hand in the making even his own form? 'Tis nothing at all to the purpose what he had regarded or not regarded, had it not been with a view to the making of a Government: and thus the context is not onely impertinent, but inconsistent with itself, if your sense be admitted.

As to the word itself, ἀποδείξαι, I may safely appeal to all, who have a competent knowledge of Greek, whether in this place, and form of construction it ought not to be rendered to the sense I have given it; of *making, constituting, appointing*: and though it may have likewise, that of *declaring or proposing*; yet it must be of something *formed and constituted* by him who *declares and proposes* it; and includes therefore at the same time *the notion of making*. Many examples of this may be found in the *Classic Authors*, though 'tis not easy to recur to them, as soon as they are wanted. One I have recollected from Josephus himself, in *Jethro's advice to Moses*; about placing *Judges or Rulers* over the people. The words are ἀρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, thou shalt *make or constitute Rulers*: and a little lower, he uses a different word of the same force, τάξεις, thou shalt *appoint or place over them* [a]. I have met with ano-

[a] Antiq. l. 3. 4.

ther in *Plutarch*, who speaking of *Lycurgus*, in the very case of moulding his Government, tells us, how by a method learnt in *Ægypt*, he made it at last truly elegant and perfect. ἄσκειον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολιτεύμα, καὶ καθαρόν, ἀποδείξαι [a]. *Hen Stephens's Thesaurus* furnishes several instances from *Plato*, *Xenophon*, &c. where he renders the word, by *facio*, *efficio*, *reddo*, *creo*, *constituo*: that is, to make, effect, create, constitute. I shall just mention one, where *Xenophon* speaking of the proper choice of Masters for the Youth, says, that such of the older sort used to be chosen, who were the most likely to make their children the best men: τὸς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι [b]. And a little after, for the same thing, he uses, βελτίστους παρέχειν.

But you tell us withal, that the old Interpreter had rendered this place, by *declared his Government a Theocracy*: an Authority, I doubt, that will add very little weight to your cause; *Scaliger* declares your old Interpreter to have been a great blunderer [c]. And for what reason have the Critics discarded him, but that they found him to be so; and his version here contrary to sense, and contrived onely to serve an Hypothesis; which however true, cannot derive any additional credit from a false translation? Have not *Hudson* and *Havercamp*, the learned Editors of *Josephus*, translated the word, as I have given it? And did they not understand Greek, and the Author they have published? You must reply distinctly to all this, before you can make any impression in favour of what you advance. You must shew the context to give no colour to my exposition: you must shew the word itself to bear no such meaning: you must shew that men of the first name in learning not to have understood Greek: and when you have done this, you may then claim the credit of restoring your old Interpreter to his old Honours. In the mean while, should the reader allow my translation to be just, he must allow withal, what you seem to do too, that it clinches the whole paragraph to the sense I have given of it.

[a] Plut. in Vita. Lycorg. p. 41.

[c] Praef. Hudf. Edit. Joseph.

[b] Institut. Cyri. l. 1.

I shall now follow you through the examination of what you call *the most important part of my Defence*; in which you charge me with *attempting more openly to weaken the authority of Moses* [a]: where after you have collected into one view, what you call my *scattered Sentiments*, you draw up the state of the controversy into *two points* [b]. 1. *Whether Moses's account of the Creation and Fall of Man is to be understood literally or no.* 2. *Whether the Religion and Laws which Moses delivered to the Jews had a divine Origin and Authority.* To these two points I shall answer distinctly; and to shew how ready I am to humour you, as far as I am able, will give what you require, *a full and explicit account of my thoughts upon them.*

But in order to clear my way to them, it will be necessary to consider what you have objected, as usual, to *two quotations* of mine that relate to the same subject.

In support of my exposition of *the paragraph*, we have been examining, and to shew, that *Josephus had put Moses on the same foot with Minos and the other old Lawgivers*; I took occasion to observe, that this was so far from *weakening Moses's authority*, that it tended to *strengthen it* with those, to whom it was addressed; who had the highest esteem and opinion of *those very Lawgivers*, and were so far from being scandalized at the *fiction*s contrived by them for *the good of the people*; that they *bragged* of them the more for that very reason, as the *greatest benefactors of mankind*. This I confirmed from *Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Plato*. But to these, you say [c] 'tis not worth while to answer; they are *Heathen authorities*, and I am welcome to them: and as much *Heathens* as they are, they are *welcome*, I assure you, to me: I am proud of their acquaintance; and though I do not intend to die in their faith, yet resolve to live in their friendship.

Of these *Plato* particularly, who has written *on Government* more fully than any of the Antients, affirms it to be the *chief duty of a Magistrate, to contrive such Fables, Fiction*s or *Political Lies*,

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 46.

[b] Ibid. p. 48.

[c] Ibid. p. 61.

as he thinks the most effectual to instil into the people *a reverence for the Laws*, and dispose them to a *willing obedience* to them. Now the *Greek Fathers*, I observed, were possessed likewise with a common opinion, that *Plato* had diligently studied the *Books of Moses*, and copied so many of his notions from them, that he was called by some the *Attick Moses*: and that *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius* do in a manner assert, or *say at least much the same thing*, that *Plato's notion of the use of those Fables and Fictions was borrowed from the Mosaic Writings* [a]. But here you tell me flatly, that *I have misrepresented Clemens, and acted still more unfairly with Eusebius* [b], whom since I have treated, it seems, *the worst of the two*, I will endeavour to do justice to in the first place.

And on a review of the passage taken from him, I find myself so far from having treated him *unfairly*, that I have ascribed nothing to him but what his very words plainly and directly express. In the *eleventh Book of his Preparation*, he sets out by undertaking to shew, *the exact agreement of the Greeks, and above all of Plato, with the Books of Moses, in all the most important points*. And the subject of the Book is to prove this by a comparison of the particulars. He opens the *twelfth Book* by telling us, that the purpose of it is to shew, *the particular agreement of Plato with the Jewish Oracles, just like the harmony of a well-tuned Lyre, in all the articles not specified in the former Book*. And in each Chapter of this Book, in which there are fifty, he gives a different example of this same *harmony*; prefixing to each *a Summary or Title* of the contents it treats of. Among which we find these that follow.

That *Children ought to be trained up by Fables*.

That *a careful choice ought to be made of such Fables*.

That *we ought not to expose to all promiscuously the profound and awful doctrines of Truth*.

That *Plato allegorizes the story of Paradise, just as Moses*.

That *Youth should be trained to the exercise of Virtue by Hymns and Songs*.

[a] Defence, p. 44.

[b] Reply to Def. p. 62, 64.

That 'tis necessary sometimes to use a Lye instead of Physick, for the good of those who want it.

The passage I have quoted is found under this *last title*; and the Chapter itself begins with *the words of Plato*, to this effect, as nearly as I can render them: That a *Lawgiver*, who is good for any thing, ought above all other *Fictions* contrived for the good of the Youth, to invent such especially, as tend to make them do what is right and just, not by force, but readily and willingly. To which is immediately subjoined the reflection of *Eusebius himself*, that there are very many instances of this kind, in the books of the Hebrews.

I appeal now to every reader, whether 'tis possible for a testimony to be more *explicit and direct* than this. 'Tis produced to prove, that according to *Eusebius*, *Plato's notion of Political Fictions* was borrowed from Moses. *Eusebius* expressly affirms it. How is it then that I have acted *unfairly* with him? Because I conceal, it seems, and drop the following words, which shew, that the *Fiction* he imputes to *Scripture*, consisted onely in ascribing *human passions to the Deity*, and representing him, as *jealous, sleepy, angry*; which, however it may amuse some readers, is yet nothing at all to the purpose. The fact, for which *Eusebius* is appealed to, is, whether *Plato borrowed the notion from Scripture*, or no: *Eusebius declares that he did*; which is all that I am concerned for. If we would know the particular instances of *Fiction* that *Plato* borrowed; we must learn that from *Plato himself*, and not from *Eusebius*. I have shewn what kind it was that *Plato* recommended; and no body, I dare say, can shew that he ever recommended what *Eusebius* here mentions; or for *the good of the People* ever feigned God to be *jealous, angry, sleepy, &c.* My business then being to prove the authority of *Eusebius*, that *Plato had borrowed his notion from Moses*; it could not be to the purpose to exemplify it, by instances, which he did not borrow. And *Eusebius* might possibly give this turn to his argument, to obviate *the offence*, which a frank allowance of such a fact might give to the more *rigid and zealous*: it being well known, that

no small clamour was raised against him by the *strictly orthodox* of those times, for his *opinions* in some high Points of Religion.

Let's now see what you object to the other passage of *Clemens*; who in speaking, as I say, of the *Art of governing*, allows the Greeks to have learnt from Moses among other lessons of Policy, the proper use and application of *Lying or Fiction* [a]. But you charge me here with *misrepresentation*, in calling that the *Art of governing*, which ought to be rendered the *Art of governing in war*, or the *Art of a General*. And should I grant you this, pray what would you gain by it? Does it not come up to what I contend for; or at least, as I have put it, *to much the same thing*? For what difference is there in the thing itself, when used for the good of the people, whether it be used *in peace*, or *in war*? Unless that *in war*, 'tis seldom practised with effect, but *to the destruction of thousands*; *in peace* without the least hurt or injury to any one: and this difference, I'm afraid, will give no advantage to your side of the question.

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit:

is, I know, the ordinary maxim of *military policy*; and you give us from *Virgil*, the *mentita tela* of an enemy: but you forget what you had observed on a less pertinent occasion, that these are *Heathenish maxims*; the suggestions of a *loose morality*: Will you undertake to defend them by the *strict principles of Religion*, or assert the practice of them to be honourable in the character of Moses? If you can do this, then the use of *Fiction* in any case for the good of the people may surely be defended by the same principles. For to consider Moses's character: was he not divinely inspired and assisted in the same extraordinary manner in all the Events of war, as in all the Arts of peace? by stretching out his rod he could drown a mighty host; by lifting up his hands destroy a whole army: is it not then the same diminution of his divine Authority, to suppose him under a necessity of recurring to *Fiction* or *Stratagem* in the one case, as in the other? Considering, I say, the circumstances of Moses's character, it seems difficult to make out

[a] Defence, p. 44.

the difference: yet you roundly assert, and think the assertion innocent, that he might use *all the arts of deceiving in war*; but will not suffer me to impute to him the *least possible degree of it in peace*, without *weakening his Authority*.

But as this passage of *my Defence* has generally been thought the most exceptionable of any in *my Two Pieces*; so I must beg leave to recite here my very words, in order to explain my true meaning in them the more clearly; they run thus: *Is the notion then of the Divine Origin of the Law, and the Inspiration of Moses to be resolved into Fiction and Fable, or political Lying? No, far be it from me to think or say that: but this perhaps one may venture to say; that the supposition of some degree of such Fiction may possibly be found necessary to the solving the difficulties of the Mosaic Writings, without any hurt to their authority, or advantage to Infidelity &c [a].* And here we see after all the cry that has been made against me, I expressly disclaim the *least thought* of saying or doing any thing, that really contradicts the *Divine Origin of the Law or Inspiration of Moses*: and in the next words, where I seem to allow *some degree of Fiction*, I have used all the terms of *reserve, doubt and diffidence*, that can possibly be crowded into any sentence: *perhaps; may venture; some degree; may possibly be found*: which can by no means imply a persuasion, but an hint onely to ground a question upon. And that still, upon a supposition, that such a question can do *no manner of hurt to the authority of Moses, or service to Infidelity*. When the reader has duly reflected on this, then let him consider, how justly I have been accused from the evidence of this passage, of calling in question *the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures*.

To return to the testimony of *Clemens*: where tho' it seems needless to say any thing more of a *translation*, which bears equally in either sense to the point in question; yet as I never translated any passage with design to make it bear more than it would strictly carry; so I think myself obliged to give some account

here, why I translated the word *στρατήγημα*, by the *Art of governing in general*, and not, as you would have it, the *Art of governing in war* : and for this I had the following reasons.

That tho' I well knew the word, *στρατήγειν*, to signify properly, to lead an army or govern it in war, in the old *Classick Authors*, yet I knew withal, that in the time of *Josephus*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Writers* especially, who lived after him, the word had lost its proper, original sense, and was applicable to denote *Civil Magistracy* or *Government in general*. Thus *Moses* is commonly called by *Josephus* the *στρατήγος* of the *Jews*, not in the notion of a *General* or *Leader of an army*, but of *supreme Governor* or *Magistrate*. And this, as in many other places, so in that particularly, where he appears in the meer form of a *Civil Magistrate*, and in the very act of *bearing and judging civil causes* [a]. His successor *Joshua* is in like manner always stiled the *στρατήγος*, in the sense of *general Governor* [b]. And what's most to the point, *Joseph*, in his government of *Ægypt*, where he had no *military command*, is called in the same sense, *στρατήγος* : where a *learned Critick* in a marginal note observes, that *this word had in that Age lost its relation to War, and denoted Civil Power or Government in general* [c]. In which sense the *Ecclesiastical Writers* generally use it, as *Valesius* has fully shewn [d] ; and as every body will find from the old *Lexicons* and *Glossaries* [e].

This being then the common acceptation of the word in the Age of *Clemens*, an admirer of *Josephus* ; and *στρατήγος* carrying the notion of a *general Governor* or *Magistrate* ; 'tis certain that *στρατήγημα*, considered singly, may truly and properly be rendered by the *Art of governing*, without any respect to *war*. And as the context in this place seemed somewhat perplexed and obscure ; so I was not curious to consider, whether it ought to be rendered

[a] Antiq. l. 3. 4. Item, l. 4. 4. §. 7, &c.

[b] Ib. l. 5. 1. §. 1, 3, 29.

[c] Ibid. l. 2. 6.

[d] Vales. Not. ad lib. 31. Ammiani

Marcell. c. vi. it. Not. ad Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 7. c. xi. not. 6. it. ad Euseb. l. 8. c. xi. not. 4.

[e] Du Fresne. it. Lexic. Vet. ad

finem Operum S. Cyrilli. H. Steph. Thef.

the *Art of Government, Civil or Military*, since it was obvious to reflect, as I have observed above, that in either sense it comes to *much the same thing*.

As to the fact itself, whether *Plato did really borrow any thing from Moles or not*, I am no way concerned for the truth of it; but shall leave it to *these Fathers* to answer for it: what they have delivered concerning it, might be with a view to recommend their Religion to the *Greeks*, agreeably to what *Clemens* himself declares, that *as the Apostle became a Hebrew to the Hebrews, so it was reasonable to become a Greek to Greeks*. And the very passage we have been examining may, for any thing I know, be one of those *unsound ones*, which *Photius* tells us are to be found in this very work of *Clemens* [a].

I shall now at last explain myself more particularly on the two most important points of this Controversy;

1. *The Allegorical Exposition of the History of the Creation and Fall of Man.*
2. *The Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures.*

As to the first of these, you charge me with asserting, that *the literal sense is in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God* [b]. But here, Sir, you either mistake my meaning thro' want of attention, or thro' design misrepresent it. I had said in *my Letter*, that *all Commentators are forced in some measure to desert the literal meaning* [c]: and in *my Defence*, where I have further explained myself, that *if it be found in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God, we must necessarily desert it* [d]. *The first* I shall still assert to be true; and *the latter* all Divines whatsoever will allow to be so. But to reject the *literal sense conditionally*, and on supposition onely of *its being contrary to reason*, which is all that I have done, or designed at least to do, is a quite different thing, from what you charge me with; *the asserting it to be in fact contradictory to reason*.

[a] Photii Biblioth. p. 288.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 48.

[c] Letter, p. 13.

[d] Def. p. 15.

So that the very foundation you build upon, of my having *absolutely rejected the letter*, is false, since I reject it onely *hypothetically or conditionally*. Besides by *deserting the Letter*, there's no necessity to understand an *absolute denial or rejection of all historical sense* in it; but a preference onely of the *Allegorical* in some particular cases, as the properest basis for a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now in this very *History of the Creation*, I find the *Commentators* greatly divided and disagreeing among themselves, in their several methods of explaining it. Some prefer the *Allegorical Sense*, others the *Literal*; most indeed allow, that *both* are consistent, and may be used together: but all take a liberty of applying each arbitrarily, without any certain rule, just as their several systems or fancies incline them [a]. So that 'tis not possible to draw from them all, any uniform and certain principle of true belief and interpretation. 'Tis this I refer to, this I complain of in the *Defence of my Letter* [b]: that those who defend Religion so *dogmatically*, do not state and define what it is, *that we Christians are obliged to believe* of this story: that they do not determine *the bounds of Letter and Allegory*; do not fix some *settled rule* of applying them; but *jump*, as I say, *arbitrarily from one to the other*, as each man's whim directs him. And in this uncertainty and latitude of interpretation, 'tis ridiculous to charge particular opinions with *Infidelity*, that offend against no established maxim or rule of exposition.

After trifling a while about the word, *Mystery*, in a manner that deserves no answer, you collect the substance of your charge into one point, *viz.* that I alledge *in favour of Allegory that the Primitive Fathers esteemed it on many occasions the onely method of vindicating Scripture* [c]. This you treat as a *bold and rash Assertion*, and exert all your Strength and Learning to prove it so; declaring, that I *have mistaken the sense of every one of the testimonies*

[a] Les ecrits des Peres & de la plupart des Interpretes en sont pleins; & ces fortes d'explications sont souvent arbitraires. Calmet, Comment. Pref. Gen.

p. 11.

[b] Defence, p. 13.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 51.

produced to confirm it. Here then we will once more *join issue*, and examine the truth of your allegation and mine: where the Reader, I dare say, will not be so much surprized at *my boldness* in affirming, as at yours, in so *rashly denying*, a fact, which is evident and known to all, who are conversant in *Ecclesiastical Antiquity*.

As for *Origen*; in the remains still left us of his Works, we have proof enough of his attachment to the *allegorical Exposition*, and contempt of the *literal*. St. *Jerom*, speaking of him declares, *that he turned the story of Paradise so wholly to Allegory, as to destroy or take away all the literal truth of it: by the Trees, understanding Angels; by the Rivers, Cœlestial Virtues; &c [a].* And the same *Father*, giving an account of another *Greek Expositor*, he had been reading, *on the story of Melchisedec*, says just the same of him too, *that he allegorized the whole in such a manner, as to destroy the historical truth of it [b].*

St. *Austin* tells us; *that there were some, who interpreted the whole account of Paradise of things to be understood spiritually or allegorically, as if the things themselves had not been really visible, or corporal, but delivered for the sake of those spiritual significations [c].* And though he declares on this occasion for *holding fast the Letter, along with the Allegory*; yet 'tis certain that he had once been of a different mind, and thought, that we could not explain *the History of Man's Fall piously and worthily of God but in the allegorical way [d]*; and seems to have always held the same constant opinion, as to *the six days of the Creation*, and to have looked upon them *as wholly allegorical [e].*

Thus, Sir, in direct contradiction to what you maintain, there were several Writers in the primitive Ages, who thought the best way of *indicating Scripture in some instances to be by the help of Allegory, even to the desertion of the Letter*: and this without any imputation

[a] Hieron. Op. T. 4. par. 2. p. 310.
Edit. Benedict.

[b] Ib. Tom. 2. par. 1. p. 574.

[c] De Civ. Dei. l. 13. c. xxi.

[d] De Genes. contr. Manich. l. 2.
c. iii.

[e] De Civ. Dei. l. 11. c. xxx.

on their zeal or sincerity in their Religion, or the least suspicion of *Infidelity*. 'Twas the same case with the *Jewish Apologists*, particularly *Philo*, from whom I had drawn some testimonies to the very point: but you tell me peremptorily, *that I have mistaken the sense of every one of them* [a]. And to give us a general view in what sense *Philo* is to be understood, you observe, *that he more than once cautions his readers against departing from the Letter of the Old Testament*, and says, *that all the Ceremonies relating to the Worship of the Temple and a thousand other Precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves onely to the allegorical Interpretation*. But what is this to the purpose? Or how does it confute what I have advanced? Is there the least hint in *my Letter*, or the *Defence of it*, that *Philo* or the *Primitive Writers* maintained the *whole sense of Scripture to be allegorical*? Might not *Philo* believe the *general sense* to be *literal*, and yet hold some *particular passaget* to be wholly *allegorical*? This surely is consistent, and that it was the very case, we shall presently see. For instance; *the Law*, says *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because though he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof; now if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it; but if according to the inward meaning; there is a most clear and necessary one, &c.* which he proceeds to explain. This passage I had produced before [b]; but as you have said nothing to it in *your Reply*, I must confront you with it once again, the better to confine you to the *true state of the question*. Let me ask you then, whether *Philo*, in this instance, does not *actually vindicate Scripture by its allegorical meaning, in opposition to the literal one*? If he does; then all you have been saying about him has neither *truth nor sense* in it: if he does not; then I am content to take whatever shame you please to throw upon me; even *the share* you so candidly give me of *Mr. Woolston's shame* [c].

You say that *Philo turns almost every thing to Allegory*; and yet by your use of him, one would imagine, that he had *turned no-*

[a] Rep. to Def. p. 51.

[b] Defence, p. 17.

[c] Rep. to Def. p. 51.

thing to Allegory. But to drop for the present what you or I think, let's see what other Men of Learning, not heated in this Controversy, have thought of him with regard to this very question. *Philo*, says *Photius*, wrote *Expositions on the Old Testament*, turning almost every where the Letter to Allegory: and from him all that Custom of allegorical Interpretation flowed into the Church [a].

Sixtus Senensis tells us of him, that he affirms it to be a piece of rustick simplicity to believe literally, that the World was created in six days or in any certain time. And that several Catholick Authors had followed his opinion, as *Austin* among the Latins, and *Procopius* among the Greeks [b]: That he so treats what *Moses* has said of Paradise, as to destroy the literal Sense of it; making the Garden, the Plants, and the other things described in it to contain nothing but Allegory. In which error he was followed, he says, by *Origen*, and very many Writers besides, as he shews afterwards [c]: and he declares, that *St. Ambrose* likewise in imitation of *Philo* seems to have understood the story of Paradise wholly according to Allegory, rejecting the historical Sense of it [d]. And if we would know this Author's own opinion of allegorical Interpretation; he affirms it to be by far the most useful for the establishment of our Faith, and the institution of our Manners: and says further, that should the enemies of the Law and the Prophets object to us and demand, for what reason God gave such absurd Laws; to cut off the Foreskin, kill the Lamb, the Goat, &c. we should have no way of defending ourselves but by the allegorical Sense; without which all those things must needs appear insipid, rustick, and wholly unworthy the Divine Majesty [e]. And now, have I advanced any thing like this in favour of Allegory? Yet the Author who has advanced it, was a Man highly esteemed and celebrated in his own time, not onely for his Learning, which was great, but for his Piety and sincere Zeal for Religion, which were allowed to be as great.

[a] Phot. Biblioth. p. 277.

[d] Ibid. 341.

[b] Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. l. 5. p. 338.

[e] Ibid l. 3. p. 141.

[c] Ibid p. 340.

To this Writer, who was a *Papist*, I shall just add a *Protestant*; *Rivet*; who in these Points was as *highly orthodox*, and as great an *Advocate of the Letter* as yourself. Who declares, that *St. Austin* held the *six days of the Creation* to have an *allegorical Meaning* onely, and that *Philo, Procopius, Cajetan* are of the same opinion [a]. Of the last of whom he intimates, that he held the *literal story of Eve formed from the rib of Adam* to be a *silly one* [b].

By this time the Reader will be able to judge how *rash* or *bold*, as you say, my Assertion is, that the *Primitive Fathers and Jewish Apologists* esteemed the *allegorical Exposition* to be on some occasions the *best Method of vindicating Scripture*. But because you push me so vigorously on this question, I must beg leave to dwell a little longer on it.

Josephus reflecting on the calumnies charged on the *Jews*, and the ridicule they underwent on the account of the *Tabernacle and priestly Vestments* [c], says, that *whoever seriously considers the fabrick and construction of them, will find the Lawgiver to have been a Divine Man, and that they are falsely reproached on this score*. For if we duly examine the *Particulars with judgment and without envy*, we shall discover them all to have been formed in imitation, or as a typical representation of the *Universe and its several Parts*: and he proceeds to explain this analogy or similitude through all its Particulars. The *Tabernacle thirty cubits long, divided into three Parts*, denotes, he says, the *earth, the sea, the heavens*: the *twelve loaves, the twelve months*: the *seven branches of the candlestick, the seven planets*, &c. Now what is all this but recurring to *Allegory*, in order to vindicate Scripture from the *cavils and ridicule of Scepticks*?

I had produced likewise in my Defence a testimony from *Barnabas*; where this *Apostolical Writer* declares, that *Moses in prohibiting Swine's flesh, meant onely to prohibit the keeping company with such, as in their manners are like to Swine* [d]. And what do you say

[a] Rivet. Exercitat. in Genes. c. 1. p. 9. Op. T. 1.
[b] Ibid. Oper. T. 2. p. 936.

[c] Antiq. 1. 3. c. 7.
[d] Defence, p. 17.

to this passage in *your Reply*? Why, you allow it to be a *strong one* to the purpose; yet have the assurance to say, that I have *mistaken every Passage produced to that purpose* [a].

I have alledged also *two other Quotations*, on the authority of *Cotelerius*, from *Tertullian* and *Origen*. Where the first says, *that nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food*. And the latter more freely; *that if we take them literally they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men; nay, that some of them are contrary to reason, and impossible to be observed* [b]. And here you take notice, *that I have stopped short, not like a lover of truth, without acquainting the reader with an observation, that follows, of Cotelerius himself: that on the contrary very many passages might be collected out of the same Authors, which speak in praise of the same Laws* [c]. But has *Cotelerius* produced any of those passages? If he had, it would have been pertinent to consider, how far they had balanced, or superseded the other. But since he has not done this, and what he has said is not, as you have given it, but what should be rendered, *that many passages might be collected from the same Fathers, expressed more commodiously in praise of the same Laws: so, till we see the Passages themselves, and understand the force of what you had left out, more commodiously; the different passages may, for any thing we know to the contrary, be very well reconciled*.

But you affirm, that *Cotelerius himself has wholly mistaken the sense of Tertullian; and for the passage of Origen, it effectually carries its own disproof with it* [d]. We shall presently see what judgment you shew in this affirmation. *It is plain, you say, that Tertullian is speaking ironically of what Marcion and the Hereticks, and not what himself thought of those Laws*. But it will be as plain, I doubt, that though he is speaking of *the Railleries of the Hereticks*, yet he allows the ground of that Raillery to be true, and

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 51, 55.

[b] Def. p. 17, 18.

[c] Reply to Def. p. 55.

[d] Ibid. p. 56, 57.

owns the fact, that the *Laws are really foolish and contemptible* in themselves, according to the dictates of *human Wisdom*, and that God made use of them for the very reason *of their being contemptible*, in order to baffle the *knowledge and learning of the wise*.

In the other passage, you bring from *him*, he is onely suggesting some reasons which the *Divine Providence* might have for the Institution of such Laws: to give *a lesson of abstinence*, and *a check to that gluttony*, which, (as he adds in words that you have wholly omitted) *when it was eating the food of Angels, yet longed for the Melons and Cucumbers of Ægypt*. An omission, I don't take notice of, for the sake of clamouring, as you do, about *falsifying and misrepresenting*; but to shew how dextrously you can skip over *a sore place*; and evade the touching on any thing, that intimates *an inclination in the Jews, to the things of Ægypt*. And were I to insist on the passage for any purpose of this Controversy, you *would demonstrate*, I dare say, *against Tertullian*, just as you did *against St. Stephen*, that *there was not so much as a Cucumber in Ægypt in Moses's time*.

As to the testimony of *Origen*, it carries, you say, *its own confutation with it*. But, pray Sir, recollect here, what you are so apt on all occasions to forget, the *real state of the question*; which does not turn on the truth or falshood of what *Origen* has said, but on the fact, *whether he has said it or no*. If he has said it, then my affirmation is true; *that the Primitive Writers esteemed the allegorical way on some occasions to be the onely method of vindicating Scripture*; and the negative you maintain is false. But I am at a loss to understand how this *notion of Origen confutes itself*. Why, he asserts, you say, *that to be impossible, which in fact he knew to have been always observed*. But this shews onely the negligence of your own attention: for how could he be so gross, as to charge an *impossibility*, on what he *really knew to be true*? Every one, I dare say, will see at once, that he meant something very different from what you imagine, viz. *that some of those Laws, which the Jews constantly observed, were yet from the nature of things impossible to be observed, in that full rigour and strictness, which the literal command imports,*
and

and of which no exception or abatement was signified. For instance; the Law, that prohibits *the eating of blood*, is *absolute*; and the thing itself forbidden *in any manner or degree*; and *whoever eats it in any manner was to be cut off* [a]. Now is it possible to *eat any flesh meat*, without *eating blood in some manner or some degree*? This might perhaps be one of the *Laws*, that *Origen* had regard to: where it may be answered, that God requires onely an *obedience adequate to our power*; and when we have discharged that, we have *satisfied the Law* however *absolute*, or *rigorous*: yet what you answer is nothing to the purpose, and the effect onely of your own mistake.

But since you seem to have so slight an opinion of *Origen*, as to think him absurd enough even to *confute himself*; I will just give you a short character of him, from a greater man than yourself; one of the greatest that ever lived, *Erasmus*; who declares, *that in the Exposition of the Scriptures, allowing for some particular points of Faith, he would prefer one Origen to ten Orthodox* [b].

And now, to give my own opinion of this question; I take the use of *Allegory in the History of the Creation and Fall of Man*, to be in *some degree necessary*, to establish the truth of the *Christian Religion*; since all Expositors, who have considered with most attention the *general Scheme of Christianity*, however differing in other Points, have commonly agreed in this. *Calmet* declares, that *it is extremely difficult to expound the first Chapters of Genesis literally; especially as to what regards the Fall of Man, and the Story of the Serpent: and that the Jews do not suffer their young Men under the age of twenty-five or thirty Years to read them.* And Dr. *W.* himself, in *vindicating one passage of this very History, about God's walking in the Garden*, says, that *a Man must be next to an Idiot, who understands it literally.* As to the *Letter*, one thing at least is certain, and we may assuredly draw *this historical truth*

[a] Levit. iii. 17. vii. 26, 27.

posuerim, exceptis aliquot dogmatibus fidei.

[b] At ego in Scripturarum enarratione, unum Origenem decem Orthodoxis ante-

in Gal. ii. 11. Crit. Sacr.

from it; that God in the beginning created the World and all Things in it; and placed Man in a state of bliss and happiness from which he fell by his own sin and folly. But whether this was brought about *exactly and literally*, according to every circumstance of the *Mosaic account*; with all the *Form and Machinery*, of *six days labour*; a *Paradise*, &c. as it is not, in my judgment, material to inquire, so I shall not take upon me to determine. All that I need say further on it is; first, that I never meant to *reject the Letter of Scripture absolutely* in any case, but where 'tis found *inconsistent with Reason and the Attributes of God*: and there *all Divines* whatsoever must agree with me in *rejecting it*. Secondly, that had I *absolutely rejected it* in some cases; I had yet done no more than what *several Apologists of Christianity* in all Ages had done before me, whose *piety and zeal for Religion* were never called in question on that account.

I shall now in the last place give a distinct account of my Sentiments, concerning the *Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. And as in my *Letter to Dr. W.* I had declared myself a *sincere Christian*, and repeated the same declaration in my *Defence* of it; so I had reason to expect, that however free and offensive any of my expressions might appear to some, whom a narrow circle of life and studies had rendered stiff in particular habits and opinions, yet in virtue of such a declaration *my belief of an Article so fundamental*, would have been presumed and taken for granted, and that I should have been safe at least from the *groundless and spiteful charge of Infidelity*; since in the character of a *Christian* I take to be necessarily included a *general belief of the Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Books of the Old and New Testament*: a Doctrine too clearly delivered *in the Scriptures*, to be doubted of and called in question by any one, who lays claim to that title. And as to the particular character and case of *Moses*; I take him to have been a *great Prophet and Lawgiver*, who in an *extraordinary and miraculous manner* was *favoured, assisted, and inspired by God in the institution of his Laws and Religion*, and consequently had a *Divine Authority*, which is frequently appealed to and confirmed *in the New Testament*.

But

But as 'tis necessary to believe *of the Scriptures in general*, that they are *divinely inspired*; so 'tis as necessary, from the evidence of plain facts and declarations in *those very Scriptures*, to allow some exception to *the general rule*; nor to insist, as some do, that *every word, sentence, narration, history; or indeed every Book*, we call *canonical*, was *dictated by God*.

This is the onely notion expressly affirmed by me, that can be thought to *weaken* in any manner *the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion*: and 'tis indeed the onely one I ever intended to affirm on the subject: and if any thing be said or pushed further by me in either of my Pieces, than what the consequences of this position will fairly justify, I retract and disclaim it.

Here then I fix my foot; and take upon me to assert, that we are under no obligation of *Reason or Religion* to believe, that *the Scriptures are of absolute and universal Inspiration*; or that *every passage* in them was dictated by a *Divine Spirit*: and this I do from no other motive or view in the world, but a firm persuasion of the truth of it; and a persuasion likewise, that the allowance and declaration of that truth is not onely useful, but necessary to a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now as this, I say, is the onely opinion, that I have directly asserted in this Controversy, without the least notice taken of it by you in *either of your Replies*; so did I not see you disposed rather to *cavil at trifles* than to *join issue* on any question of importance, I might reasonably take it for a proof, that you look upon it as *orthodox and inoffensive*. However, since passion and prejudice have so great a power in the world; and the seeds of rage may be already at work in the breasts of some readers on the bare mention of such a proposition; I cannot but think it prudent, before I enter on any explication of it, to place in front before me *an authority or two of great name*, in order to break the force of the storm, which, by what I have already experienced, I have too much reason to be apprehensive of.

The first authority I shall produce is of Archbishop Tillotson; whose words, in a *Sermon* on this very Subject, are as follow.

I shall onely say this in general; that considering the end of this Inspiration, which was to inform the world certainly of the mind and will of God, it is necessary for every Man to believe, that the inspired Penmen of Scripture were so far assisted as was necessary to this end: and he that thinks upon good grounds, that this end cannot be secured, unless every word and syllable were immediately dictated, he had reason to believe it was so: but if any Man upon good grounds thinks the end of writing the Scripture may be sufficiently secured without that, he hath no reason to conclude, that God, who is not wanting in what is necessary, is guilty of doing what is superfluous. And if any Man is of opinion, that Moses might write the History of those actions, which he himself did or was present at, without an immediate Revelation of them; or that Solomon, by his natural and acquired Wisdom, might speak those wise sayings which are in his Proverbs; or the Evangelists might write what they heard and saw, or what they had good assurance of from others; as St. Luke tells he did: or that St. Paul might write for his Cloak and Parchments at Troas, and salute by name his friends and brethren; or that he might advise Timothy to drink a little wine, &c. without the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he seems to have reason on his side. For that Men may without an immediate Revelation write those things, which they think without a Revelation seems very plain. And that they did so, there is this probable argument for it, because we find the Evangelists in relating the discourses of Christ, are very far from agreeing in the particular expressions and words, though they do agree in the substance of the Discourses: but if the words had been dictated by the Spirit of God, they must have agreed in them. For when St. Luke differs from St. Matthew, in relating what our Saviour said, it is impossible, that they should both relate it right, as to the very words and forms of expression; but they both relate the substance of what he said, &c [a].

Now if we reflect on the difference of stile in a Sermon, from that of a debate in a Controversy of Learning; and consider the re-

[a] Tillotson's Works, Vol. III. p. 449.

serve proper to the one, and the freedom necessary to the other, we shall find that I have affirmed nothing more in effect, than what this great Man had delivered from the *Pulpit*. He tells us, we see, *that those who do not believe Moses to have been universally inspired in writing his Books, seem to have Reason on their side*; and suggests some probable arguments to prove, that *the Evangelists in composing theirs had no Revelation at all*.

To the authority of *the Archbishop*, I shall add that of *Grotius*; whose words are: *I have truly said, that all the Books in the Hebrew Canon were not dictated by the Holy Ghost: that they were written with a pious affection of mind, I do not deny: and this is what the Great Synagogue determined, to whose judgment the Hebrews in this matter stand. But there was no occasion for histories to be dictated by the Holy Spirit: 'twas enough for the Writer to have a good memory as to the things related, or diligence in copying the old Records. Besides, the word, Holy Ghost, is ambiguous; for it either signifies, as I have taken it, a Divine Inspiration, such as the ordinary Prophets had, as also David and Daniel sometimes; or it signifies a pious motion or impulse to deliver some salutary precepts of life, or things political and civil; in which sense Maimonides takes it, where he treats of Writings either historical or moral. If Luke had written his Books by the dictates of Divine Inspiration, he would have chosen rather to establish his Authority on that, than on the faith of the witnesses he followed. So in writing the Acts, which he had seen done by Paul, he had no need of any Inspiration. Why then do we receive Luke's Books, as Canonical? because the Primitive Church judged them to be piously and faithfully written, and concerning things of the greatest moment to Salvation [a].*

Under the shelter of these great names, of the *most rational Preacher*, and the *most rational Expofitor of Scripture*, that any *Christian Age* has produced, I may venture to open my own opinion the more freely; so far at least, as to shew the grounds

[a] Grot. Votum pro pace. Artic. de Canonicis Scripturis, Op. T 4. p. 672.

on which 'tis built, which is all I think necessary at present, reserving the fuller discussion of it to an opportunity of more leisure.

Now in searching *the Scriptures*, to discover the real state of this question, I found it to no purpose to lay much stress on those texts, that are usually alledged on the occasion; since by admitting a latitude and variety of interpretation they furnish nothing decisive, but leave room still for fresh and endless squabbles: my business was to consider chiefly the *matters of fact* delivered there; the surest foundation to build any persuasion upon; and to attend to the plain sense and language of *those facts*, when stript of the glosses and forced interpretations which *Commentators* would fasten on them in favour of *their systems* and *prejudices*.

For instance, as soon as *the Children of Israel* had made their retreat from *Ægypt*, and got any time to repose themselves in the wilderness; we find *Moses* employing himself *from morning to night in judging the people*, by *bearing and deciding all causes of dispute among them*: this *Jethro his Father-in-law* observing, and reflecting on the fatigue and trouble it occasioned both to *Moses and the people*, took the liberty to represent to him *the inconveniencies of this method*, and to convince him, that it was *quite wrong*, and what must of course tire out both himself and the multitude. He advised him therefore for his own ease, as well as the publick good, to chuse out a number of able and honest men, to be set over the people as *their Judges or Rulers* in all ordinary cases; in a proper subordination to each other according to their several abilities; *Rulers over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, over tens*; reserving to himself the cognizance onely of *greater causes*: That he might not be drawn off from the more important part of his duty, *his attendance upon God, and the care of his Religion*. Upon which, *Moses*, as we read, *bearkened to the voice of his Father-in-law, and did all that he had said [a]*. And from what is related afterwards of the same fact, we learn,

[a] Exod. xviii. 24.

that *Moses* had the *solemn consent and approbation of the people*, before he put it in execution [a]. *Josephus*, in his account of this story, takes occasion very justly to praise the *modesty and ingenuity of Moses*, in not assuming to himself the credit of an invention so useful, but frankly ascribing all the glory of it to its true Author [b],

Now the inference I draw from this, is, that it appears very clearly from this plain fact, that *Moses* in the case of an Institution of great importance to the whole body of his people, and to the good order and government of the Community, had not the assistance of any divine Inspiration, but derived the whole thought and design of it, from the advice and counsel of a wise and prudent man, of whom all that we know is, that he was *Priest of Midian*. If then there was no Inspiration in the thing itself, there could be no occasion for any in the narration of it; and consequently *Moses* was not constantly and uniformly inspired by God, either in what he instituted, or what he has related.

As to what Bishop Tillotson has suggested in the other case of the Evangelists; and Grotius more particularly in that of St. Luke; 'tis certain, that there is in the several Gospels such a disagreement and variation in the accounts of the same facts, as cannot by any wit of man be cleared from the charge of Inconsistency. As in the Genealogy of Christ [c]; in the account of the woman who poured a box of ointment [d]; of two men possessed with Devils [e]; of two blind by the way side [f]; of the Thieves on the Cross [g]; of the time and hour of our Saviour's crucifixion [h]; of the circumstances of what passed at his Sepulchre [i], &c.

The Commentators, I know, have with fruitless pains strained hard to reconcile these differences; and work them all up into one

[a] Deut. i. 13.

[b] Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.

[c] Mat. i. 1. Luke iii. 24.

[d] Matth. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiv. 3. Luke vii. 38. John xii. 1.

[e] Matth. viii. 28. Luke viii. 26.

[f] Matth. xx. 30. Mar. x. 46. Luke

xviii. 35.

[g] Matth. xxvii. 44. Mar. xv. 32. Luke xxiii. 39.

[h] Mar. xv. 25. John xix. 14.

[i] Matth. xxviii. 2. Luke xxiv. 4. John xx. 11.

uniform and consistent narration : but it had been, in my opinion, of more *service to Religion*, had they been content rather to acknowledge fairly, what cannot be denied honestly, than labour as they do to support *notions* in opposition to *things* ; *systems* in contradiction to *facts*. For all these variations, as they affect onely the *circumstances*, and not the *reality of the facts themselves* ; so they are so far from *hurting the cause of Christianity*, or casting any *blemish on the veracity of the Evangelists*, that they the more effectually confirm it. *This very thing*, says *Theophylact*, gives the stronger proof of their integrity, that they have not agreed in all points : for otherwise they might be suspected to have written by compaet [a].

Mark is observed by all *Expositors* to tread so closely on the *steps of Matthew*, and to agree so minutely with him in the *circumstances* and even words of many of his narrations ; that some believe him to have had the use of *Matthew's Gospel* towards the forming his own : and what does *Religion* gain by the bargain ? What fruit does it reap from this *great harmony* ? Why, to find Mark's *authority diminishing* in proportion to his *exact-agreement with Matthew*, and the character of an *Evangelist* dwindling into that of a *Transcriber* ; which the *Criticks* generally impute to him [b]. The case would be still worse, were the *same minute agreement* observed in the *other Gospels* ; and the strong foundation of a *Quadruple Testimony* would by that means be reduced to the questionable credit of a *single Evidence* ; so that as *Dr. Hammond* has judiciously remarked ; *these variations in the Evangelists were necessary to make their testimonies several, and so to give them the greater authority by the number of them* [c].

[a] Δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀληθεύουσιν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ὁμοφώνησαν, &c. Theophyl. Proœm. in. Matt.

[b] Marcus pedisequus & breviator ejus videtur, *August. de Conf. Evan. l. 1. p. 3.*

Marci Evangelium ejus, quod a Matthæo proditum est, videri potest Epitome. *Erasm. in Luc. i. 1.*

Marcus autem Græcè compendium magis historiæ, quam historiam scripserat. *Grot. Ibid.*

Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio, apertum facit collatio. *Grot. in Mar. i.*

[c] *Hammond's Præf. to Annotat. on Tit. Gospel, p. 4.—*

But tho' these little *inconsistencies in the Gospels* cannot be of any disservice, but of real use to Religion; yet they effectually confute the common *notion and hypothesis*, that the *Evangelists* in composing them were under *the perpetual influence of a Divine, unerring Spirit*. For as Bishop Tillotson reasons above, if they had been *absolutely inspired*, they must necessarily have *agreed as absolutely* in their several Stories: but *since they are very far from agreeing in their accounts of what our Saviour said*, 'tis impossible that *they should all be inspired*, as 'tis impossible that *they should all be in the right*. This conclusion is clear and evident to every Man's sense and reason; as certain, as the facts, 'tis grounded on, are certain: allow but the facts, and you of course establish this consequence. And in truth, whatever any *Divines* think fit to impute to the *Evangelists*, the *Evangelists themselves* are so far from pretending to this privilege, of *universal Inspiration* or *absolute Infallibility*, that they in effect disclaim it; and put their whole credit on a foundation meerly human, and common to all other Writers; *viz. their capacity or ability to know the truth of what they deliver, and their integrity in delivering it to the best of their knowledge* [a].

St. Paul, we know, declares himself on several occasions *destitute of divine Inspiration*. In the *Epistle to the Galatians*, I speak, says he, *after the manner of men* [b]. Where Jerom observes, *that he makes good what he says, and by his low and vulgar reasoning, and the improper application of certain words, might have given offence to prudent men, had not he prefaced, as he does, by disavowing all pretence to Divine Inspiration* [c].

Many *facts and passages* might be produced from the *Old and New Testament*, to shew, that the *Sacred Writers* could not be *universally inspired*: but I have said enough to declare my own opinion, as well as to give a short view of the grounds on which 'tis built, which I shall always be ready to explain more at

[a] Luke i. 1, 2. Jo. xix. 35. it. xxi. 24.
it. 1 Ep. Jo. i. 1, 2, 3.

[b] Gal. iii. 15.

[c] Unde manifestum est, id fecisse Apostolum quod promisit: nec reconditis ad

Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi promississet, *secundum hominem dico*, prudentibus displicere, Hier. Comm. in Gal. 3. Op. T. 4.

large, if ever I am challenged to it by any Writer worth my notice.

I have now gone through all, that I found necessary to remark on *your second Reply*. What I have omitted to take notice of, was not for want of a proper answer, but that I thought it either too trifling to deserve any; or that it had been sufficiently answered before. And after all this squabbling, the state of the questions affirmed by me in the Dispute stands thus:

1. That *the Jews borrowed some of their Ceremonies and Customs from Ægypt.*
2. That *the Ægyptians were in possession of Arts and Learning in Moses's time.*
3. That *the Primitive Writers, in order to vindicate Scripture, thought it necessary in some cases to recur to Allegory.*
4. That *the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal Inspiration.*

These are the *chief* if not the *only facts*, that I have in any manner declared for in *my Two Pieces*: and after all that has been said, I do not find the least reason to change my opinion in any of them: they all stand in the end of the Controversy, as firm as they did in the beginning; as every reader will observe: and what greater proof can be given of the impertinence of *Two Replies*, than that they have left *the principal Facts*, in dispute in the same state as they found them? If therefore, Sir, you ever attempt a *third*, it will be expected, that you expressly and directly attack *these very Facts*, or else your attempt will be nothing at all to the purpose.

I must observe likewise, that, after all this *clamour and senseless charge of Infidelity*, I have shewn my Sentiments to be entirely agreeable, to what the *zealous and learned Advocates of Christianity* have clearly asserted in all ages, as necessary to a *rational defence*

defence of it. If Religion indeed consists in what our modern Apologists seem to place it, the deprectiating moral Duties, and the depressing natural Reason; if the duty of it be, what their practice seems to intimate, to hate and persecute for a different way of thinking in points, where the best and wisest have never agreed; then I declare my self an Infidel, and to have no share of that Religion. But if to live strictly and think freely; to practise what is moral, and to believe what is rational, be consisten with the sincere profession of Christianity; then I shall always acquit myself like one of its truest Professors.

F I N I S.

REMARKS
ON SOME
OBSERVATIONS,
Addressed to the AUTHOR
OF THE
LETTER
TO
Dr. *WATERLAND.*
By the Author of the Letter.

REMARKS

ON SOME

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THE *Letter to Dr. W.* had been published near three years, and the Controversy, that followed it, quite over and almost forgotten, when these *Observations upon it* appeared in print: and as there seem'd to be very little prudence in reviving a debate that had been managed with so much heat; so it was reasonable, after so long an interval, to expect at least a calm and disinterested enquiry into the state of it, and the moments of truth produc'd on either side.

But instead of this, I was surprized to find no argument of Learning, no point of Religion treated in them; nothing by which the publick could either be entertain'd or edified; nothing but a virulent, malicious invective; to prove the purpose of my writings, and even *my heart to be entirely infidel*. [p. 10.]

As to the merit of the performance, 'tis much below my notice; nor should I have taken the trouble of animadverting upon it, but for the occasion of opening my mind more clearly in some points wherein I find my self misrepresented; as well as to expose more distinctly to publick view, that genuine Spirit of Modern Orthodoxy and its Advocates, which I have declared against so freely, as pernicious to publick peace and liberty: for had this Author written on purpose to confirm the character I have given of it, he could not have done it more effectually, than by producing this original to confront with my picture.

He sets out by declaring, that the profession I make of an *impartial love for truth*, encouraged him to make this address to me, in hopes of drawing from me an ingenuous confession of my errors; and he opens his second paragraph by observing, that *I can retract an error of inadvertence with a tolerable good grace*: this had some appearance of candour; and flattered still the hopes I had entertain'd of a temperate review of the controversy; but he scarce proceeds a line farther, before his *Orthodox Spirit* begins to work; and the encouraging hopes conceived of me in the first paragraph, become improbable in the second, quite desperate in the third, where I am declared *the last man, who will own the force of any conviction; who would sooner give up every article of faith, than part with one doit of admiration.* [2] And as the Spiritual Thermometer rises, with the increasing heat of his zeal, so my character gradually sinks, from *rude to profane*; [9] from *profane to infidel*; [10] *nay much worse than infidel*; [39, 40] so profligate, that the *meekest man alive can't help being provok'd at me*; [9] *that charity itself can make no excuse for me*; [11] and so abandon'd at last, that 'tis not possible for me *to believe a God.* [23, 39.]

He allows, that I have argued *against the Infidel plan in a manner strictly conclusive*; [5] that I declare myself a Christian; am angry for being *barely suspected* of the contrary; [4] that *I disavow all notions derogatory to the true honour of Moses*: [21] and where my words and actions so well agree, there was some room surely for a charitable thought of me; some ground to think that I could not be in the same sentiments with the man I was confuting: yet he makes no scruple to affirm, that *Charity itself cannot excuse me*; that *'tis no breach of it to believe me an infidel.* 'Tis plain that his charity must be of a quite different kind from that which St. Paul recommends, that which *suffereth long, and is kind; that thinketh no evil; that believeth all things; hopeth all things.* [1 Cor. xiii.]

But how is it after all that he proves me to be an Infidel? because I differ from those, who assume to themselves the title of *Orthodox*, in my notions of *Inspiration and the necessity of it*; in
which

which the writers of all ages have differed from each other, without any such imputation ; and the Divines are so divided at this day, that many will think me the sounder Christian, for the very same cause that he excludes me from the number of them. Were it worth while to retort the charge on himself, I could do it with much more reason, not by any cavils, or distinctions, which few people understand ; but from plain and evident principles in which all Christians agree ; or to use his own words, from *every dash of his pen ; his envenom'd pages ;* [2, 40] inveterate spite, malice, and the want of every Christian grace, supplied onely by a *bigotted Jewish zeal*, and the pretext of an *Orthodox Faith*.

The cause of all this rage against me is my treating Dr. *W.* it seems, in so *rude and contemptuous* a manner ; [p. 4] and with *such ungenteel language as eyes were never surfeited with.* [7] Yet this rudeness and strange language of mine amount to nothing more than *to dull, dogmatic, pedantic, bigotted* [2] names, not applied to Dr. *W.* but in general onely, to certain Divines, who by their method of vindicating Religion, seem to have a just title to them. So weak and blunt is my poor spleen, for want of an *Orthodox edge* ; for want of being temper'd in that *holy fire !* but I must needs be an unequal match for writers, trained and disciplin'd in all the arts of scolding : as in a fam'd *Archdeacon's late charge to his Clergy* : where instead of instructing them in Christian principles ; how to overcome evil with good ; to recommend Religion by their practice ; and conquer the prejudices of its enemies by the innocence of their lives ; to excel in virtue and learning ; &c. instead of this, I say, the whole purpose of his harangue is to exhort them to *call names stoutly, and to scold manfully* : wherever they find a *Deist* to call him roundly an *Atheist* ; and a man who *believes nothing*, more *credulous*, than if he *believed every thing.* [Dr. *W.*'s second Charge, p. 7, 21.]

But whatever harm my malice design'd to Dr. *W.* it has quite defeated itself, by giving the alarm to such *able pens and learned hands to come in to his assistance* ; [p. 6] and to this *Great Orator* of ours to celebrate his praises with so much eloquence. An ex-

cellent person; unwearied in his researches of useful science; a successful defender of one important Article; and a seasonable Vindicator of the Scriptures in general. [4] Of learning, industry, exactness of judgment remarkably great and extensive, [6] one of the greatest scholars and Divines of the age, [7] &c. but the peculiar merit of the Doctor, for which all the world, he tells us, has reason to thank him, is his wonderful art of inventing so many different solutions to the same difficulties; and diversifying his arguments, so that some or other may hit and affect men of all tempers and dispositions. [6] As if the Advocates of Religion were to consider onely what is palatable; not what is true; and to apply to the affections, not to the reason of men: for let his solutions be never so many; his arguments never so diversified; 'tis possible, that they all may be false; and almost certain, that no more than one of them can be true: but no matter for that, if they hit men's tempers and suit their apprehensions, 'tis just the same, we see, to this pious Observer.

But though Dr. *W.* with all his skill can furnish nothing to please my palate: yet he has the happiness, it seems, to see all his *Explications of Scripture confirmed by able pens and learned hands: [6]* and for this we are referred to the Author of *Revelation examin'd with candour.* A single Author indeed, but of weight enough to supply the place of many. For whatever he may say of Dr. *W.* 'tis this Author, I know, who passes with our Observer and all others of his principles, for the very *Hero of modern Orthodoxy; the scourge of Infidels;* allowed to have a far better fancy for *ingenious solutions* than all the other vindicators put together.

I am angry, he says, with Dr. *W.* because he *excels in his profession, writes with superior learning, and what is more unpardonable, believes what he writes. [8]* As to his *superior learning,* I have no intention to dispute it with him; especially if 'tis to be measured by *a superiority of his Faith.* My *Faith* is of an humble kind; claims no other merit, than of being a slave to my *reason*, to whose dictates it pays an absolute submission: what

my reason declares to be true, I cannot help believing; what it declares to be otherwise, 'tis not in my power to believe, though all the rewards in the world were offer'd me.

If Dr. W.'s Faith be of the same kind with mine; a principle grounded on the perception of truth; it might be reasonable to allow from a *superiority of his Faith, a superiority of Knowledge*; and whenever I fall short of him, I could onely say, what was said to one, who was affirming a strange story; *you, who know the fact to be true, have more reason to believe it, than I, who do not*: in the mean while, all that I can say, is, that if it be not in our power to believe what we please, and if all rational faith must be the effect of rational conviction, then to believe or not to believe, as 'tis a thing indifferent and no way criminal, so, ought to make no difference of character among reasonable men: whoever takes pains to inform himself, and believes on the best information, whatever be the sum of his faith, is certainly the soundest believer; and generally speaking, it seems to be in minds, as 'tis in bodies, a sure proof of softness, where every thing that strikes them, is apt to make an impression.

Were I to guess at the character of our *Observer*, by the character of his writing; I should take him for some young, academical Adventurer; who had been drawing out the flowers of his rhetorick, and emptying his Common-place-book against me: *Procrustes; Salmoncus; flammæ Jovis, sonitus olympi; nec lex justior ulla*, &c. [p. 3, 21, 40]; the trite examples of every boy's declamation, are the onely instances he has given of his great erudition.

His solœcisms and blunders in language, and in sense, when he labours most to raise his stile, confirm the same conjecture. He talks [39] of eyes *surfeiting with language*; [7] of dirt *recoiling without reaching the mark*, [8] of fire *a reservoir to lodge infection in*, [40] &c. *reservoirs of water* we often hear of; but this of fire is an invention of his own; and the rest of the paragraph is a piece of nonsense so sublime, that without attempting any explication of it, I shall lay it before the reader just as I find it. *The*

waters,

Remarks on some Observations, addressed

waters, earth and heavens have been sufficiently polluted already; and this element only remains to purify the rest, and disperse the pestilential vapours, which your envenomed pages have scattered in the world. [40]

These absurdities in style and sense naturally lead me to think of some forward youthful writer; but when I consider his high opinion and great conceit of his own understanding; [10, 22, 34] his progress in *Orthodoxy*; his flaming zeal and holy fury that animate every page; things unknown and unnatural to a boy; I am forced to turn my thoughts to one of more years and experience: and should be much concern'd for the sake of the University which I love; if any member of it, who supports any character, or enjoys any honours there, should be found capable of so wretched and contemptible, as well as so malicious and wicked a performance. But 'tis time to leave what is personal, and examine the little of reasoning and argument he pretends to; which consists of two points.

1. That I am an Infidel; labouring to weaken the authority of Scripture, and by consequence the foundation of Christianity.
2. That my book therefore ought to be burnt and myself banish'd, agreeably to my own reasoning against the Author of *Christianity as old, &c.*

For the proof of my infidelity he appeals to a passage of the Letter to Dr. *W.* wherein 'tis said, that the *example of Josephus, a learned and zealous Jew, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified sentiments of the divine origin of the Law, and the divine Inspiration of Moses.* Upon which he begs leave to ask this plain question, sufficient, he thinks, to confound me. *What can you mean by more moderate and qualified sentiments, but that the Law had no divine origin, its Founder no divine inspiration; since there can be no medium between divine and not divine?* [p. 15]

I have already explain'd my meaning very fully and very clearly on this head [a]; but since he either cannot or will not com-

[a] See Remarks on a Reply to the Defence of the Letter, p. 68, &c.

prehend me, I am content to declare it once more: That whereas the modern Advocates of Christianity insist, that every word of the *Mosaic writings must be received as divinely inspired; every act of Moses as miraculously directed from heaven;* my opinion is, that with the notion of general Inspiration, which I readily allow, we are obliged by fact and the history itself, to admit a distinction and exception, in some *particular passages of the Law; some particulars acts* of its Founder.

But the greatest scandal I have given, is by imputing, as he urges, some *kind of fiction to Moses*. [22] I have indeed proposed it as a problem, but with all the diffidence and caution imaginable [a], *Whether some degree of fiction may not possibly be allowed in certain cases, to solve the difficulties of the Mosaic writings, without any hurt to their authority.* This our Observator treats as downright Blasphemy and *Atheism itself*; [23] declares *all fiction inconsistent with any degree of Inspiration, [21] unworthy of a man divinely inspired: [31] and reproaches me for defending political lying, for the good of the people; and being the first Christian writer that ever maintain'd so strange doctrine.* [20]

I do not take notice of this to defend Political Lying, or to confirm my own reasoning, but to expose the folly and rashness of his. What I mentioned on that subject, I drew from the *best Moralists of the Heathen world*; and shewed withal, by the testimony of some of the *Primitive Fathers*, that the notion was suppos'd to be borrowed from *Moses himself*: and it were as easy to shew, what he so rashly denies, that almost all the Christian Writers, from the earliest Ages, and very best Authors of Morality in these later times, *Grotius, Puffendorf, &c.* hold it to be as innocent in some cases, to *deceive the people for their good, as for Parents to deceive their Children, Physicians their Patients*; which is all the length that I have ever gone or ever meant to go in favour of any deceit or fiction whatsoever.

But this, he tells us, is giving a greater power to Governours,

[a] See *Defence of a Letter to Dr. W. p. 45. It. Remarks on a Reply. p. 50, 51.*

than God himself claims ; of dispensing with the sacred and inviolable laws of truth. [20] Strange how he chanced to stumble on *the sacred and inviolable laws of truth* : writers of his class never raise their thoughts so high ; or venture so far from shore ; but stick close to the *infallible word, and universal Inspiration of the Bible.* If there be any such laws, as without all doubt there are, 'tis certain that the Bible itself must be tried by them. And if they can't be dispens'd with by God, there seems to be little sense in what Dr. *W.* often alledges in his vindications of Scripture ; that *the command of God alters the nature of the thing* : for is not *that to dispense with his sacred and inviolable laws* ? But our Observator, having over-shot himself here, before he was aware, makes a quick retreat into his old trenches of *absolute Inspiration*, and leaves the laws of truth and reason to shift for themselves.

He affirms *all degrees of fiction to be inconsistent with any degree of Inspiration.* Yet it would not be difficult to give instances of *some degree of it*, through all the *inspired Writers* both of the Old and New Testament. Pray what was St. *Paul* doing, when he became *all things to all men* ? Was he not employing *some little degree of fiction* ? When our Saviour appeared to the Disciples going to *Emmaus* ; the very purpose of his appearing was, *to tarry with them a while in the inn* ; yet he made as if he would go farther, *till they constrain'd him.* (*Luke xxiv.*) Is not this likewise *some small degree of it* ? how rash then is his Assertion ; that the least *degree of fiction is inconsistent with his nature, whose Law is the truth* ? [23]

But I take shelter, it seems, in *partial Inspiration*, and bring the great names of *Grotius and Tillotson* to protect me in it. Upon which he observes, that *had I done as much for Christianity as they, I might have had some plea to be indulg'd in the like particularities.* [33] A fine observation truly ! as if a greater merit gave a greater right to deliver what was false or hurtful to Christianity : no, the greater their services, the greater is the presumption, that they were still carrying them on, perfecting their work : and in my opinion, they

they could not have done greater, than by beating down the systems and prejudices of zealots, and fairly owning facts that lie open and visible to every rational Christian. But they, it seems, *only modestly suggest, that in a few instances of no moment, the superintendence of the Holy Spirit might be suspended.* Yet their few and modest suggestions reach so far as to intimate; that in *the historical*, and even *the moral books of Scripture* there is no necessity for Inspiration; since natural Talents are sufficient to discover and evince the truth: contrary to our Observator's assertion, that all *the influence and truth of Scripture depend on its Inspiration.* [31] As if nothing could be true, or deserve to be consider'd as such, unless *divinely inspired.*

'Tis the reasoning of all divines, that the *truth of the Gospels* stands on the same bottom with every other *historical truth* in the world: and consequently, to deny their authority, is to deny the faith and truth of all history, and to destroy at once the credit of all antiquity. This reasoning is just and strong, if the Gospels be of the same class and species with other histories; a narration of facts by credible persons, who knew them to be true, and related what they knew of them: but 'tis of very little force, if they must needs be received as *universally and absolutely inspired by God*: for in this view they have no relation to other histories; stand on a quite different bottom; and their credit may be disputed, without hurting common faith or common history.

To give assent to facts affirmed by proper witnesses, as 'tis an act highly rational, so 'tis all that is wanted to give them a reception in the world. The character of Inspiration superadded serves only to introduce difficulties and doubts, where all was clear before, and cast an air of imposture over the whole. In the case therefore of the Gospels, where, according to *Grotius* and *Tillotson*, there is no want of such Inspiration, and where we find no claim or pretence to it; the asserting it to be necessary seems dangerous to Christianity itself, by unhinging and perplexing its proper and natural evidence.

But besides the great names of *Grotius* and *Tillotson*, I brought

a greater still for my opinion, that of St. Paul; who owns himself on some occasions *destitute of divine Inspiration*. This our Observator grants in two places; but for a third, where the Apostle declares, that he *speaks after the manner of men* [a], he affirms it to be *nothing to the purpose*: [25] for if he did not *speak after the manner of men*, says he, *how would it be possible for men to understand him?* But if those words of St. Paul relate to the manner of speaking onely, what occasion for a distinction, where there can be no difference, whether *inspired or not?* for in both cases he must *speak to the senses*, and draw his arguments from *the notions of men*, or they could be no arguments at all to mankind. No, he seems to me to signify here what he does in the other places, that he is not delivering the dictates of God, but his own natural sentiments, as other men ordinarily do.

St. Jerom confirms this opinion, as our Observator allows, but whilst he allows the thing, with the usual art of these writers, he cavils at my words; and exclaims, that *Jerom does not say, what I make him to say*, that St. Paul *disavows all pretence to divine Inspiration*. [26] And yet, 'tis the whole purpose of Jerom's argument to assert and prove the very thing. But to shew the contrary, he gives us, what he calls a *juster translation than mine, and nearer the original of Jerom's words*. The old method of blowing up envy against me; by calling that a *translation*, which I never design'd for such; but for an extract onely of an Author's sentiments; which is the case at present: for does not Jerom, in the place I refer to, affirm, that St. Paul *has mistaken the sense, and made an improper application of a certain word, on which his argument turns?* This, though intimated by me [b], is not found in the words I produce, but is found however in the context, which our Observator could not be ignorant of. With what face then does he call that a *translation*, and arraign it as imperfect, which he knows could never be meant for one? 'tis onely to raise a clamour and support the false charge he re-

[a] Gal. iii. 15,

[b] See Remarks on a Reply, 78.

To the Author of the LETTER to Dr. WATERLAND.

vives against me, *of perverting and misapplying my principal testimonies.* [43]

To return to the case of Inspiration, he allows, that *St. Paul* on some occasions declares himself destitute of it. [25] Yet in spite of *St. Paul's* concession and his own, he persists stoutly to maintain the *absolute and unlimited Inspiration of all the Scriptures; that their influence and truth depend upon it.* [31] *That there's a necessity to admit or reject the whole.* [34] *That the only basis of Christianity is the infallible truth, and universal Inspiration of the sacred Books.* [43] What pure and genuine Orthodoxy is this? to believe against the conviction even of sense; against the evidence of plain fact; to subdue reason, judgment, and every faculty to Faith.

As for the reason of his Faith, he tells us gravely, that *partial Inspiration will in the end be no Inspiration at all.* [34] For, when every man has pick'd and cull'd out of his Bible what he does not like, *very little of genuine Inspiration will be left behind.* But must we then reject a fact because of its consequences? and must we not be content with our Religion, just as God has given it us? To strengthen what is from God, by adding to it, is just as impious as to weaken it by detracting from it. *Partial Inspiration* is a fact, which the history and testimony of the Scriptures themselves demonstrate: whatever be the effects of it, 'tis necessary to submit to them. It may probably overthrow the Systems of ancient or modern Divines; but cannot possibly hurt any truth or article of Faith, that is necessary to be believ'd.

2. I proceed now to the other part of our Observator's argument, or the sentence he has pronounced against me; *that my book ought to be burnt, and my self banish'd.* This he pretends to ground on my own reasoning against the *Author of Christianity as old, &c.* that since I have suggested this as a just punishment of an Author, in many respect less criminal than my self, and thought him worthy of so rigorous a treatment, my punishment ought to be the more remarkably severe. [40, 41] But here again, as in most other places, he mistakes and misrepresents me. I have declar'd

declar'd no opinion; suggested nothing about it of my own: my meaning was to state a mere fact, as it stood among the ancients; and to wipe off a scandal imputed to Christianity, of having introduced into society a spirit of persecution unknown to the Heathens; by shewing, in contradiction to the *Author of Christianity as old*, &c. that the Pagans punish'd men for opinions; had their *Holy Wars* and *Religious Tests* as well as we. I am far from affirming with our *Observer*, that these principles are right, agreeable to Christianity, the maxims of Reason, and the laws of Society: [40] no; my opinion is just contrary; that Reason was as must abused then, as Christianity is now, whenever any free debate or inquiry after Truth is made punishable for the sake of it; or indeed for any other cause, than as it actually disturbs the quiet of the State. My reasoning against the *Author of Christianity as old*, &c. is a mere argument *ad hominem*; to prove that an attempt to abolish Christianity is contrary to the very maxims of Reason and Morality, that he himself lays down. If I do not mistake his purpose; I take my reasoning to be just: if I do; my argument is so far weaken'd by it, as 'tis pointed singly against a design to subvert the establish'd Religion, in order to advance Reason in its place, as a more perfect guide to the people.

If the Religion of a country was to be consider'd onely as an Imposture; an engine of government to keep the people in order; even there an endeavour to unhinge it, unless with a design to substitute a better in its stead, would in my opinion be highly unreasonable. But should the Priests of such a Religion, for the sake of their authority and power, labour to impose their own fictions for divine truths; to possess the people with an enthusiastic zeal for them; manageable onely by themselves, and to be played even against the government, as oft as it served their separate interests; in such a case, 'tis the duty of every man, who loves his country, and his fellow creatures, to oppose all such attempts; to confine Religion to its proper bounds; to the use for which it was instituted; of inspiring benevolence, modesty, submission into the people: nor suffer the credit of it to grow

grow too strong for that of the State ; the authority of the Priest, for that of the Magistrate.

Was Religion, I say, to be consider'd as an imposture, all men would think this conduct reasonable: and where it is in reality a *Revelation from Heaven*, the case is not altered, as far as the end of that Revelation is perverted and abused by the arts or the folly of men: as the *Jewish* was by the *Pharisees*; the *Christian* by some of its *modern Advocates*. In such circumstances, in proportion as a man values his Religion, and believes it to be of God, he will exert himself to clear it from all human impositions; which render it either of no effect, or of a mischievous one to society; propagating *rage and strife and every evil work*, instead of the peace and happiness 'twas design'd to introduce. And if the end of all Revelation be to enforce with greater vigour, and by means more affecting to sense, the obligations of the natural Law; those Priests are the truest friends to God and man, who labour to adapt it the most effectually to that end; to expound it by the known principles of reason and morality; and to make it amiable, by making it plain, rational, intelligible to common understandings.

As for those, who take the contrary way; who either deny all natural law, or make it bend as they please, to their own comments on Scripture; who build Religion on a principle of faith, distinct from reason; look on the latter with a jealous eye, as an instrument and engine of Satan; who measure all truth by authority; all credibility by testimony; by which authority still and testimony they mean little more than their own, and to draw the greater dependance on themselves; for these writers, I say, 'tis the duty of every rational Christian, to expose their principles, as slavish and superstitious; destructive of that good, for which all Religion was given; turning the best thing in the world into the worst; a Revelation from heaven, into a doctrine hurtful and pernicious to mankind.

And; where Religion, as with us, is received as of divine Authority, and on the best grounds and reasons embrac'd as
such;

such; though I greatly condemn the perverseness of contesting truths so strongly established, yet I cannot think it agreeable either to Reason or Religion, to punish even such, as are hardy enough to call in question the reality of Revelation itself: for 'tis the greatest weakness and absurdity to think, that truth can ever be hurt by any examination whatsoever: it may be oppressed a while by faction, stifled by power; but in a free debate, as in free air and exercise, it always regains its strength and vigour: controversy to truth, is like a gentle wind to trees; it shakes the head, but fastens the root. Truth is naturally so amiable, that wherever 'tis expos'd to view, it necessarily draws all to admire it; and the more 'tis expos'd, the more strongly it attracts. Where artifice indeed and fraud prevail in the stead of it, there all inquiry must industriously be discouraged, as a dangerous and fatal enemy; sure to detect and expose the cheat: and wherever 'tis discourag'd, there's always reason to suspect some latent imposture: now as sure as Truth and Falshood are contrary to each other; so sure it is, that the same method of treating them cannot possibly be of service to both.

As far as my experience has reached, either in ancient or modern History, there's not an instance on record, where a fair examination has ever done harm to a good cause. The attacks on Christianity, urged on by its warmest enemies, always turn to its advantage: they engage the Clergy to study and search into the true grounds of it; keep them in breath and exercise; and train them by constant discipline, to be able champions and defenders of it: they clear Religion it self of all the rust and rubbish, which by the negligence or the art of its managers, it may have contracted: and above all, they enforce and lay open the genuine proofs of it; which by time itself, naturally grow languid and ineffectual; till a new debate, like a new publication, sends them fresh again into the world, in their original force and lustre.

'Tis then my firm principle and persuasion, that a free inquiry into all points of Religion, is always useful and beneficial; and for
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that reason never to be punish'd or prohibited. It opens the minds and reforms the manners of the people; makes them reasonable, sociable, governable; easy to such as differ from them, and as little scandaliz'd at the different opinion, as the different complexion their neighbour: whereas the restraint of this liberty, and the imposition of systems and articles, that must not be call'd in question, nourishes a churlish spirit of bigotry, uncharitableness, enthusiasm, which no Civil Power can moderate; a spirit that has so oft involv'd mankind in wars and bloodshed; and by turns endanger'd the ruin of every Christian Country in the World.

If therefore in my argument against *Christianity as old, &c.* I am understood to recommend or suggest in any manner the reasonableness of punishing the Author; I disclaim and disavow it, as contrary to my intention and my principles: all such punishment is against the interest of society; the interest of truth; the interest of Religion itself: which, as it could not have been propagated at first, but by a liberty of thinking, writing, preaching; so cannot be preserv'd in its purity, but by the very same means.

To return then to our Observator's sentence; that *my books ought to be burnt and my self banish'd.* As for my books, there's no saving them from the flames: but *for my person, he is willing to commute the punishment, from exile abroad, to confinement at home.* [41] But lest we should suspect him of any humanity or compassion in the proposal, he soon gives us to understand, that 'tis but to harass and plague me the more by it: the commutations of these men are not to mitigate, but enhance the rigour of punishment. I am to be kept at home, that he and all others of the same stamp may rail, preach, and pray over me, till I become a *standing spectacle* [41] of terror and example to all who dare to expose their Schemes. This puts me in mind of the poor *Jews at Rome*; who every week in Lent are oblig'd to attend a sermon, and hear an angry Monk preach at them, and call them names by the hour, out of the same Christian principle, that our Observator professes, the same *best intention of convincing them.* [12]

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But I have already undergone, he says, the worst sort of banishment a liberal mind can suffer; a total one, from the hearts and affections of all good men: [42] that the cordial friendship, the love and real esteem, with which I used to be treated, is now dwindled into cold respect and a distant complaisance. He does me the honour then to allow, that I was once a favourite, cordially esteem'd and belov'd by all, till an aversion to my opinions created an aversion to my person. As if a man were the less amiable for some particular sentiments, or the less sincere for declaring them: strange character of friends! whom neither old acquaintance, nor esteem, nor a long intercourse of friendly offices could restrain from discarding me, when discovered to think differently from them. Would not the same men who banish me thus from their affections, as readily banish me from all society? Nay, have they not attempted to do it, as far as it was in their power? and will such a conduct do credit to any set of men, in a country where reason and liberty have any influence? Can *these good men*, who discard me, charge me with any falshood or treachery in friendship? with the refusal of any good office in my power; any act of humanity or courtesy to any of them? No, as they cannot charge me, I'm sure, with any offence in practice, so I am the easier under the disgrace I suffer for what is merely speculative.

But whatever I have lost with our *Observer's good men*, I have the comfort to find with others; *good enough* for me; who admit me to their company and honour me with their friendship. Men of enlarged Minds and generous sentiments; who make true religion the rule, and virtue the end of their living; who take immorality to be the greatest heresy; and measure the merit of their friends, not by their faith, but by a nobler principle, their charity; who reckon it no breach of friendship to differ in opinion; and even value me perhaps the more, for what the others persecute me. With men of this turn I shall breathe at least fresh air; and have more pleasure in the case of one hour's conversation, than in years spent with the morose and the captious; under the slavish fear of offending, by starting anything out of the road and train of popular thinking. I have

I have now followed our Observator thro' all his chain of reasoning; which I could not have submitted to, but to relieve some short intervals of leisure in an absence from books: and tho' I think him very injudicious in the choice and use of his materials, yet I must allow him to have shewn some art in the disposition of them. For having observ'd in what vogue the Sessions Paper has been in of late, and what demand for that kind of reading; he has contriv'd, we see, to throw his own papers into that form: the *Trial and Conviction of a notorious Infidel*; the *Sentence pronounc'd against him*; his *Confession, and Recantation*; with the *Ordinary's Sermon, and long Prayer at his Execution*. What justice has been done me in the trial, I must leave to the judgment of others; but for the *Confession* here drawn up for me, I declare it to be false and spurious; such as I never did, nor ever will subscribe. Strange, that a man can be so silly as to imagine, that were I disposed to recant, I should not do it in my own words, rather than his! but I have nothing to recant on the occasion; nothing to confess, but the same *four Articles*, that I've already confess'd.

1. *That the Jews borrowed some of their customs from Ægypt.*
2. *That the Ægyptians were possess'd of arts and learning in Moses's time.*
3. *That the primitive Writers, in vindicating Scripture, found it necessary sometimes to recur to Allegory.*
4. *That the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal Inspiration [a].*

These are the onely crimes that I have been guilty of against Religion: and by reducing the Controversy to these four heads; and declaring my whole meaning to be compriz'd in them, I did in reality *recant* every thing else, that thro' heat or inadvertency had dropt from me; every thing that could be construed to a sense hurtful to Christianity. But this is a Recantation that does not please our Observator; these *four heads*, he says, may be de-

[a] See Remarks on a Reply, &c.

bated innocently: [29] and *no recantation* will satisfy him, but what carries crime and guilt along with it. What pity it is that *these inquisitors of ours* have not the power of the rack to extort what confessions they please? All that this good man aims at, is to make me odious and detestable to every body; with a true *Popish Spirit*, he would draw me in to recant, and then proceed to burn; or with the old revenge of an *Italian*; first make me blaspheme, and then stab me.

But after so much bitterness of spirit, so much malice and rancour discharg'd against me, 'tis surprizing at last to see with what gravity he closes the whole, with a *long formal Prayer* for my conversion. He talks of *some wretches who say the Lord's Prayer backwards*. [19] What he means by it I cannot tell: but if to *pray backwards*, be to invert the intent and use of Prayer; to make it abominable to God, ridiculous to man; he must needs be the greatest Master of it, who thinks *forty pages of railing* a proper preface to *four of praying* [a]. This it is, after all, that does the greatest hurt, and gives the greatest scandal in Religion, to see such deadly venom and mischief cover'd by a mask of Piety. It was the characteristick, we know, of the *old Pharisees*, to make long prayers and to devour Widow's houses: our modern ones come not a jot behind them: we here see the *length of this Pharisee's Prayer*; and as far as I can judge by what I have suffer'd my self, his mouth is not more open to *pray*, than 'tis to *devour*.

[a] See his prayer for me, p. 42, &c.

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON THE

PROPOSALS

Lately published by

RICHARD BENTLEY,

FOR

A New EDITION

OF THE

GREEK Testament and LATIN Version.

*Doctus criticus & adfuetus urere, secare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare,
apices, syllabas, voces, dictiones confodere, & stilo exigere, continebitne ille
ab integro & intaminato Divinae Sapientiae monumento crudeles ungues?*

Petri Burmanni Orat. Lugd. Bat. 1720.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20, 1721.

Finding my self to be treated after a most barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of Dr. Bentley's Proposals, with a full Answer, &c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of The Remarks upon the Proposals lately published by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it necessary upon several Accounts to declare as follows, viz.

That I am not the Author of those Remarks, nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Assistance or Knowledge.

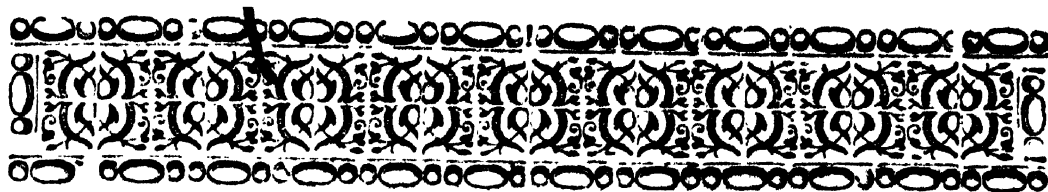
That R. B. certainly knew, or easily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. MIDDLETON, who had own'd them to several of his Friends, by whose means he verily believes, that R. B. was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, presently after the Remarks were publish'd, I took all Occasions to declare as above, being obliged in Justice so to do, lest my Silence might in some measure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for so excellent a Performance; nor do I question but that R. B. before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I said on those Occasions.

That those foul Aspersions, which are cast upon me in almost every Page, are as false in Fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himself.

That I never wrote any Libels against the Government, the College, or the Master, as he falsely asserts.

I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publish'd any thing concerning the College, or the Master, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, which the Master pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would subscribe to every Word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit only for the Cognizance of a Visitor.

JOHN COLBATCH, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College,
and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University of
Cambridge.



R E M A R K S,
PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,
UPON THE
P R O P O S A L S

Lately Published

By *Richard Bentley, &c.*

I Shall not trouble myself with making any Apology for the following *Remarks* ; but shall only desire the Reader to believe, that (whatever Prejudices may lie against them) they were not drawn from me by *Personal Spleen*, or *Envy* to the Author of the Proposals, but by a *Serious Conviction* that he has neither Talents nor Materials proper for the Work he has undertaken, and that *Religion* is much more likely to receive Detriment than Service from it : The *Time*, *Manner*, and other Circumstances of *publishing these Proposals*, make it but too evident, that they were hastned out to serve quite *different Ends*, than those of *Common Christianity* ; and I think it my Duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the Influence they might have on some whom *big Words* and *bold Attempts* are apt to lead implicitly into an high Opinion and Admiration of the Merit and Abilities of the Undertaker.

The Title runs thus :

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ GRÆCÆ. *Novum Testamentum Versionis Vulgatæ, per Sanctum Hieronymum ad vetusta Exemplaria Græca castigatæ & exactæ. Utrumque ex antiquissimis Codd. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis, edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

REMARKS.

Some People are puzzled to find out the meaning of the word GRÆCÆ; unless it be placed there *exegetically*, to let us know what Language ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ is of; but our Editor ought then to have gone on, and after *Novum Testamentum* have added likewise *in Latin*, which is just as Critical and Elegant as the other. The very next Words seem to be little better than a Barbarism, *Novum Testamentum Versionis Vulgatæ*; if he had quite inverted the Order and Construction of them, all had been clear and intelligible, *viz. Versio Vulgata Novi Testamenti*; but the other is hardly justifiable by any Rules of Grammar. And tho' it may have been the Stile of some other Editions, or might be allowed in a *Commentator*, yet is not such *Latin* as we expect from a *Critick*.

It is observed likewise, that he does not deal quite so honourably, as he should with his *Partner Mr. John Walker*; for tho' in the close of the Proposals he allows him *half the Profit*, and almost *all the Trouble* of this Work, yet he here reserves the *whole Reputation* of it to himself with an *Edidit Richardus Bentleius*.

Paragraph the First.

The Author of this Edition, observing that the Printed Copies of the New Testament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, such as the first Editors could then procure; and that now by God's
Providence

Providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible, though with great Charge) above a Thousand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Christianity, if he publishes a New Edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as represented in the most antient and venerable MSS, in Greek and Roman Capital Letters.

REMARKS.

Our Author, we see with all his Zeal for *Common Christianity*, makes no Scruple to destroy here at once the Authority of all our *published Scriptures*, and by a kind of *Papal Edict* cries down all our *current Editions* as corrupt and adulterate, 'till coined and stamped anew by his Authority.

But the Injustice and Barbarity of this Censure on all *former Editors of the New Testament*, will easily appear by the short Account I shall give of two or three of the *principal Editions*; and 'tis such an *Insult* upon the Sense and Judgment of the Learned World, which has always set the highest Value upon many of them, that it cannot but raise an universal Resentment and Indignation.

The Editors of the *Celebrated Complutensian Edition*, printed 1515, were furnished by Pope Leo the Tenth with *all the Manuscripts of the Vatican*; besides many others of the *greatest Antiquity*, procured from distant parts of *Europe* by the Power and Interest of Cardinal Ximenes, the Patron and Promoter of the Work: Many of these we find described under the Characters of *Venerandæ vetustatis, Spectatæque fidei*, and some are said to be above *twelve hundred Years old*: The Cardinal, in his Prefatory Epistle to the Pope, says thus; *Et Castigatissima omni ex parte vetustissimaque Exemplaria pro Archetypis habereamus, quorum quidem tam Hebræorum quam Græcorum & Latinorum multiplicem Copiam non sine summo labore acquisivimus.*

And the Editors in their Prologue say likewise; *Non quævis Exemplaria Editioni huic Archetypa fuisse, sed Antiquissima Emen-*
 VOL. II. T t *datissimaque*

*datissimaque & tantæ præterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare Ne-
fas videatur.*

Gomefius, *De rebus gestis Ximenii*, lib. 2. tells us, what great Pains and Expence the Cardinal was at in procuring Manuscripts from Rome, and other foreign Parts, as well as all the Libraries of Spain; and says, that seven only of his Copies fetched from different Countries, cost him four thousand Aurei.

Dr. Mills says, that these Editors had collected *Lautam plane Codicum Manuscriptorum supellectilem*; and stiles the Edition *Primam & Nobilissimam*, and, *Opus nunquam satis Celebrandum*. And our very Editor, if we may judge of his Opinion of this Edition by his Use of it, has fairly convicted himself, and may be brought as an Evidence for its Authority, having cited it near as often in his Specimen as any Father or Manuscript of them all.

Erasmus formed his Edition by Collating and Comparing a great many of the most correct and ancient Manuscripts, both Greek and Latin; his Words are, *Universum ad Græcæ Originis fidem recognovimus, idque non temerè neque levi Operâ, sed adhibitis in consilium compluribus utriusque Linguae codicibus, nec iis sanè quibuscumlibet sed Vetustissimis simul & Emendatissimis. Præf. ad Leon. X.* And in another Place, *Ad Græcæ Originis fidem examinatis codicibus Latinis neque tamen fidentes paucis aut quibuscumlibet.* Dr. Mills compares one of *Erasmus's* Greek Manuscripts to the *Alexandrian* itself, which is supposed to be above twelve hundred Years old.

Rob. Stevens collected the Text of his Edition from no fewer than Sixteen of the best and most ancient Manuscripts, some of which are described by him to be *Ipsâ vetustatis Specie pænè adorandos*; and our Editor himself, in his Remarks upon the Free-thinkers, owns this Edition, generally speaking, to be an accurate one, which from him is a very extraordinary Character.

I need not mention the many other Editions we have of good Note; but shall leave it to the Reader to determine from these I have named, how just and modest our Author has been in this Paragraph; and whether Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper Translation of
Antiquissima

Antiquissima Emendatissimaque Veneranda Vetustatis Spectataque fidei.

But however barbarous this Treatment of our *first Editors* may seem, it is still much more unpardonable in respect to one of our last ; I mean the *Learned Dr. Mills*, who with incredible Pains and Industry for thirty Years together, has drawn together in his elaborate *Edition of the New Testament*, not onely whatever had been collected by *all other Authors and Editors* before him, but the Collations likewise of all the Manuscripts whatsoever which he had heard of or were at all famous in any part of *Europe*. There are many in his Collections above a *thousand Years old*, and in *Capital Letters* too ; some of which our Author himself will allow to be the most *ancient and valuable* in the World ; and it is from this Magazine that our Proposer (as ungrateful as unjust) has upon the Matter borrowed all his Materials ; and as far as we may judge from these Proposals, seems rather to copy and transcribe only *this Edition*, than to design a new one.

I may justly therefore turn upon him his own Words, which were applied by himself in Defence of *Dr. Mills* against the Cavils of the Free-thinkers. *Our learned Countryman Dr. Mills, whose Friendship and Memory will ever be dear to me, meets with a sorry Recompense for his long Labour of thirty Years.*

But he tells us, that now, by *God's Providence*, there are *Manuscripts in Europe accessible*, &c. as if they had never been in *Europe* till now ; but were just now dug out of the Ground like Medals, or imported lately from the *East or West Indies* for the Service of his Edition : But if they are so *accessible* as he says, it is very certain that *Library-keepers* abroad have more *Humanity*, and less *Envy*, than some I could name at home.

Paragraph the Second.

The Author, revolving in his Mind some Passages of St. Hierom ; where he declares, that (without making a New Version) he adjusted and reform'd the whole Latin Vulgate to the best Greek Exemplars,

that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another Passage, where he says, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, Except in the Holy Scriptures, Ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est, Where the very Order of the Words is a Mystery; took thence the Hint, that if the Oldest Copies of the Original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Essay; he has succeeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.

REMARKS.

Here we are entertained with a short History of our Editor's great Design, and what an odd Accident, what a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms gave Birth to this mighty Work; *thinking*, it seems, upon *some Passages of St. Hierom*, he first took a *Hint*, which being improved presently into a *Conjecture*, turned it self soon afterwards into a *Clue*, which *extricated* him out of the *Labyrinth*, and so the Business was done: This being therefore the applauded momentous Paragraph, on which the Reason and Necessity of this new Edition, and the whole Merit of these Proposals are entirely built, it will deserve a very particular Examination.

As for the first of these Passages referred to here by our Author, I much question whether it is to be found in direct and express Terms in any part of *St. Hierom's Works*: It is however pretty certain that *St. Hierom* did at first design to new model and reform the *Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, according to the best Greek Copies of his time*; but finding what an Offence he was like to give by so great an Alteration of a Version which the People were fond of, and had so long been used to, he changed his Mind, and was content only to touch over and correct such Passages where the Sense seemed to have been mistaken, leaving the rest as he found it: This is the Account he himself gives us in his *Prefatory Epistle to Pope Damasus* prefixed to the Gospels:

Quæ nè multùm à Lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita Calamo temperavimus ut his tantum, quæ sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant. Dr. Mills speaking of St. Jerom, in relation to this very Subject, says, *Gaudemus quod in hac re parùm sibi permiserit ac pauca duntaxat immutarit. Vid. Prolegom.* In so small an Alteration therefore as St. Jerom made, it is probable, that the *Order of Words* stood much the same both before and after his Reformation; and so leaving our Author to make what Use he can of this part of his Discovery, and to revolve it in his Mind as long as he pleases, I shall proceed to consider,

The second Passage above cited, which is taken from the *Epistle to Pammachius, De optimo genere Interpretandi*; where St. Hierom's Words are, *Sed liberâ voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi & Verborum Ordo & Mysterium est, non verbum ex verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.* Here we see that *Ordo Verborum* and *Mysterium* are plainly *disjoined* and *distinguished* from each other, and that our Editor has thought it convenient to throw out the *Disjunctives*, and clap in an *Ipse* to make the Words express more roundly the Sense he would put upon them.

I will not dispute with him about the different Significations, which this Passage and his Citation of it might bear, but will allow him for once that both express the same thing; yet it is very easie to shew, that he has widely mistaken the true Sense and Meaning of them.

The whole Subject of this *Epistle to Pammachius* is the Defence of a Translation he had made, (not verbally, but according to the Sense) of a Greek Letter sent from one Bishop to another; where, besides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he shews that the *best Interpreters even of Scripture* had no regard in their Translations to the *Words* or *Order of Words*, but to the Sense onely; which he proves by several Instances from the *Septuagint*, the *Evangelist*, the *Apostles*, the *Vulgate Edition* it self, and the *Fathers*; and concludes, *Ut Reprehensores meos arguam imperitia,*

imperitiæ, & impetrem ab eis veniam, ut concedant mihi in simplici Epistola quod in Scripturis sanctis, velint nolint, Apostolis concessuri sunt; and again, Ex quibus universis perspicuum est, Apostolos & Evangelistas in Interpretatione veterum Scripturarum sensum quæsisse, non verba, nec magnoperè de ordine sermonibusque curasse dum intellectui res pateret. It is certain therefore, that this famous Passage can onely be rendred thus, viz. That St. Hierom in translating Greek, did not endeavour to render Word by Word, but to express the Sense onely, except in such particular Places of the holy Scriptures, where & Verborum ordo & Mysteriorum est for the Word Ubi must either have this restrained and particular Sense, or this Passage stands a direct Contradiction to the whole Reasoning and Tenor of the Epistle.

And such particular places of Scripture as are here meant, must certainly be looked for onely in the Old Testament, which St. Hierom likewise translated into Latin from the Greek of the Septuagint, and where the Jewish Doctors and Rabbins, and all the Writers infected with their Notions, are full of superstitious Whims about Mysteries in the Order and Disposition not onely of Words, but of Syllables and Letters. And St. Hierom himself, after he began to grow fond of Hebrew, might probably be a little touched with these kind of Fancies: but no one Writer that I have yet heard of has ever affirmed, that the Order of Words in the New Testament is mysterious.

I could shew from twenty Places of St. Hierom, that he never in the least dreamt of confining himself to the Order of Words in any of his Versions.

In a Letter to St. Austin, speaking of his Translations of the Old Testament, he says, *Et ibi Græca transfulimus; hinc de ipso Hebraico, quod intelligebamus, expressimus, sensuum potius veritatem, quàm verborum ordinem interdum conservantes.* And again, *Quod autem genus interpretationis in Scripturis sanctis sequendum sit, liber quem scripsi de optimo genere interpretandi, & omnes præfationculæ divinorum voluminum, quas Editioni nostræ præposuimus, explicant.* And these Places he here refers us to, are full of nothing

thing but *Rules*, and *Reasons*, and *Instances* of interpreting Scripture, not according to the *Words* but the *sense* only.

But I need not trouble my self any farther in a Case so clear and undeniable ; the Notion advanced here by our Editor, is in it self absurd and impossible ; *Erasmus* speaking on this Subject says, *Si minus verbum verbo respondeat, id quod ut maxime coneris, ne fieri quidem potest. Apolog.* which we find confirmed by Fact and Experiment ; for he says again in relation to this very *Version*, *Si nefas esse ducunt usquam à literis ac syllabis discedere, cur hic Interpres passim id ausus est, aliquoties nulla adauctus necessitate ?* &c. And *Arias Mont.* in his Preface says, *Ita ut sæpius ejus interpretatio non ad verbum, sed ad sententiam accipiendo sit.* And *Beza* likewise ; *Hoc quidem constat sæpe illam à Græcis discedere.* But we need go no farther for Proofs of all this than our *Author's* own *Specimen*, where in the *Latin Text*, as it stands dress'd up by himself, we see many considerable Variations in the Order of Words from the Greek, viz. ¶. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, &c.

Allowing then that St. *Hierom* did believe the *Order of Words* to be mysterious in a few particular places of holy Scripture, which neither our Editor nor any Man else knows where to find : What can all this signifie towards proving the Necessity of a new Edition, or of what great Use and Service can it possibly be to any Editor in such a Design ? Yet this is the sole Foundation upon which every thing that is *new* or can be *useful* in our *Author's* Performance is entirely built ; for excepting this silly Fàncy about the *Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with his *old Version* and *old Latin Manuscripts*, than what has been fully and effectually done before him by many other Editors.

Erasmus speaking of his own Edition says, *Testamentum Novum omni quâ licuit diligentia quâque decuit fide recognovimus, idque primum ad Græcam veritatem, deinde ad fidem vetustissimorum Latinæ Lingue Codicum.* Præfat. annotat. N. T. And Dr. *Mills* says, *Erasmus institutâ semel atque iterum Exemplarium Græcorum inter se & cum Manuscriptis Codicibus Versionis Vulgatæ Collatione, ad Editionem novi Fæderis se accinxit.* Vid. Prolegom.

REMARKS on the Proposals,

Rob. Stephens, in the Preface of his Edition, Anno 1551, says, Porro Veterem Versionem negligendam non existimaui idque tribus potissimum de Causis, primum, quia eam multis in locis Vetustissimi Exemplaris Græci loco esse videbam.

Mr. Toinard has also in a manner executed our Editor's very Scheme in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, printed at Paris 1709. and owns that he borrowed the Hint from the Passage just cited of Robert Stephens; his Words are, *Ex qua Roberti Stephani de Veteri Interprete sententiâ Vulgatum Textum Græcum castigandum putavi ex Vaticanarum illarum Lectionum & Veteris Versionis mutuo Consensu.*

Dr. Mills, in his Prolegomena, says, *Veterem Novi Testamenti Italicam, ceu ad Exemplaria primæva compositum Summâ veneratione prosequimur*; and there is not one Citation of it in any of the Latin Fathers, nor any Emendation that St. Hierom afterwards made in it, which the Doctor has not actually exhibited and applied with great Judgment to the clearing up the genuine Greek Text; and from these Citations, with the help of old Manuscripts, &c. he believes that he has retrieved, in most parts of the New Testament, the true Readings of the old Vulgate, with the very Greek from whence they were taken, which was probably that of the Age next to the Apostles.

All therefore that we can expect new from our Editor is, that having formed his Design upon a Notion which is not true, like all other *Authors of Systems*, he will be apt to wrest and force both the Greek and Latin Texts, to make them answer, as well as he can, to his *Hypothesis*.

In his *Sermon upon Popery*, preached at Cambridge, and since printed, he speaks with some Contempt of the *Vulgar Latin*, as a Translation made by a *private and unknown Person*, which must have several Defects and Ambiguities from the Nature of Language, tho' the Author of it were inspired; that there are fewer antient Manuscripts preserved of it, than of the Greek, and that it has been more injured under the Hands of Transcribers, and exposes the Church of Rome for enhancing (as he says) the Authority

I

of

of it above that of the *Inspired Greek*; where, by the by, he seems to know •but little of the true State of the Question, but with the common Herd of Writers, charges upon the Papists a good deal more than is true of them in this Case: The Canon of the Council of *Trent*, in relation to this Version, runs thus: *Statuit & declarat ut hæc vetus & vulgata Editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsâ Ecclesiâ probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, & expositionibus pro Authentica habeatur*: Here we see no mention at all of the *Inspired Greek*, no comparing or enhancing the Translation above the Original, the Stream above the Fountain. *Vid. Bent. Serm. on Popery. Bellarmine's account of this Matter is; Nec enim Patres Fontium ullam mentionem fecerunt, sed solum ex tot Latinis Versionibus, quæ nunc circumferuntur, unam delegerunt quam cæteris anteponerent, lib. 2. c. 10. De Verbo Dei. Cæteris, quæ hodierno die extant, omnibus anteponendam duximus. Arias Mont.*

The Popish Writers indeed say in Defence of this Version, that being made in the earliest Ages of Christianity, from the pure Exemplars of those Times, and having continued ever since in the constant Use and Service of the *Latin Church*, it must needs be of equal Authority to any *Greek Copies* now extant: And is not our Author here saying and doing much the same thing which we justly condemn in the *Church of Rome*; undervaluing the Credit of all the *Greek Copies*; advancing and authorizing the *Vulgar Latin*, and proving it to be the best means we can use of finding out the true Exemplars of the Ancients?

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retriev'd (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of *Origen*, which was the Standard to the most Learned of the Fathers at the time of the Council of *Nice* and two Centuries after. And he is sure, That the *Greek and Latin MSS*, by their mutual Assistance, do so settle the Original Text to the smallest Nicety; as cannot be perform'd now in any Classic Author whatever: and that out of a Labyrinth of Thirty Thousand Various

REMARKS on the Proposals

Readings, that croud the Pages of our present best Editions, all put upon equal Credit to the offence of many good Persons; this Clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two Hundred out of so many Thousands that can deserve the least Consideration.

REMARKS.

I have not been able to find, in any Author I have yet consulted on this Occasion, that *Origen's Exemplars of the New Testament* were so very famous for their particular Accuracy, as to be a Standard to the most Learned of the Fathers, or indeed to any Body besides himself: Most Churches in that early Age were probably furnished with Copies as correct as his: *He was accused of many Errors; excommunicated for them by the Churches of Alexandria and Rome; was suspected of doing Injury to some Texts; doubted of the Canonicalness of some Books of the New Testament; Received and made use of others which were Apocryphal.* And tho' St. Hierom in his Youth was a great Admirer of him, and owns that he copied after him in his Commentaries, yet he had afterwards no great Opinion of his Fidelity or Exactness in handling the Scriptures, but says in a Letter to St. Austin, that the Text was rather Corrupted than Mended by him.

Huetius speaking of Origen's interpreting the Scriptures, says; Non eadem Editione in iis interpretandis usus est, in Homiliis Editionem sequebatur Communem, in Tomis alias Editiones consulebat; and he accounts for the great Difference there is between Origen's Readings of the Text, and those of the common Editions, by the great Use he made of the Apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews; Utebatur saepenumero Adamantius Evangelio secundum Hebræos (ut tradit Hieronymus, lib. de Script. Eccles. c. 4.) atque inde discrepantiam illam extitisse conjicio. Huetii Origeniana, lib. 3. c. 1.

Dr. Mills says in his Prolegom. *That Origen, in Reading and Citing the New Testament did not stick to any certain Copy, but made use of several different ones, and all of them in some places Corrupt.*

Indeed, Origen's celebrated Work, called *Hexapla*, and afterwards *Octapla*, (which was an Edition of the Hebrew Text of the

the Old Testament, with the several Greek Versions of it in different Columns) was a *Standard to the Fathers* for the Text of the *Old Scriptures*, who (excepting one or two of them) understood very little of *Hebrew*; but that his Authority was not near so great in the *New*, as in the *Old Testament*, we learn from *Ambrose*, lib. 5. Epist. 43. *Etsi sciam quòd nihil difficilius sit, quàm de Apostoli lectione differere, cum ipse Origines longè minor sit in Novo quàm in Veteri Testamento.* That his Exemplar therefore was received as a *Standard of the Genuine Text of the New Testament*, seems to be a groundless Fancy or Mistake of our Editor.

But let this be as it will, he believes, it seems, that he has retrieved the *true Exemplar of Origen*; and we are consequently to imagine, that in the Chapter of his Specimen, the Text stands exactly the same, as it was read by that *great Man*: Yet upon examining his Notes, I find, that in the whole he gives us but *three* various Readings from *Origen*, and instead of *retrieving*, *rejects* them all as *false*, §. 11, 13.

But one main Design of this Edition, is, we see, to reduce the *exorbitant Number of various Readings*, which crowd the Pages of our best Editions, to the *Offence of many good Persons*; which is such a *piece of Grimace*, as will hardly pass upon the World; by over acting his part he betrays his Insincerity and Design of imposing upon the Senses of Mankind.

In his Remarks on Free-thinkers, for many Pages together, he rallies and exposes, as weak and ridiculous, the *Offence which Dr. Whitby, and others, had taken at the great Number of various Readings which crowd the Pages of Dr. Mills's Greek Testament*; he wishes that their Number were still greater, and proves, that the more they are, the better they clear and ascertain the genuine Text. *If I may advise you*, says he, *when you hear more of this Scarecrow of Thirty Thousand, be neither astonished at the Sum, nor in any pain for the Text.* Pag. 63.

But now to serve his present Turn, in contradiction to himself, and to common Sense, they must once more be made an *Objection to poor Dr. Mills*; and all of them, except a few favourite

ones, are now to be discarded, serving onely to *offend* and *perplex* the pious Reader.

But he will say, perhaps, that it is not *their Number* which gives so much Offence; but that they are all put, as he tells us, *upon equal Credit by our Editors*; the contrary of which is so directly and evidently true, that one would wonder what he could mean by such an Assertion. For do not our Editors, especially Dr. Mills, give a particular and distinct Account of the different *Antiquity, Authority, and Correctness* of the several *Manuscripts* they make use of: And do not they cite each Manuscript by its distinct and proper Title? How then can the *various Readings* be all put upon the *same Degree of Credit*, whilst the Copies from whence they are taken, are all put upon so different ones?

Indeed, if other Authors had contented themselves with the slovenly and suspicious Way of quoting Manuscripts, which we find in this Specimen, *viz. Codd. plerique omnes Gallici quatuor, Anglici tres, Germ. unus, &c.* there might have been a good deal of Reason for a Charge of this Nature, which, by what is already hinted, appears in the present Case to be entirely groundless.

But after all, we find the *Various Readings* of the Greek onely near as numerous and bulky in this Specimen of his own, as in any of the *former Editions* he complains of; and if we may argue from the Proportion of them in this Chapter to the rest of his Work, his own Pages are still like to be crowded with the old round Number of Thirty Thousand.

Paragraph the Fourth.

To confirm the Lectiōs which the Author places in the Text, he makes use of the old Versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic, and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first Five Centuries; and he gives in his Notes all the Various Readings (now known) within the said Five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the first Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.

REMARKS.

In this Paragraph, however *Pompous* and *Learned* it seems, our Author will be found even by his own Confession, to fall very short of what has actually been executed by *other Editors* before him; for Proof of which, I need onely produce *his own Words from his Remarks upon the Free-thinkers, Part I. p. 64.* where speaking of what had been done in *former Editions*, long before he dreamt of publishing one of his own, he says, *Nor has the Texts onely been ransacked, but all the ancient Versions; the Latin Vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon, nor these onely, but all the dispersed Citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers, in a Course of five hundred Years:* All which is even less than what we find performed in the *single Edition of Dr. Mills*, which is particularly referred to in this Passage: For besides an Account and Examination of *every one of those Versions*, we have in the Doctor's Prolegomena, not onely *the dispersed Citations of the Fathers of the five first Centuries*, but of all other *Eccelesiastical Writers* of any Note, and what Age soever: However, I cannot help agreeing with our Editor, that as it is certain he does not understand a tittle of *any one of the Versions* here mentioned, he may do his business full as well with any *four*, as with them all.

How well he has kept up to this Proposal of giving us *all the Readings now known within the five first Centuries, and slighting all the rest*, may be seen in his Specimen, where he has omitted some Authorities that *Dr. Mills* had given, which come within his Period, *ſ. 2, 5, 7.* and has made more use of others which fall below it, than almost all his Fathers put together; and condescends even to take notice of printed Editions.

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity,
with

with some Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requisite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities subjoin'd in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the Smallest Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the receiv'd Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.

REMARKS.

The Reader by this time will be pretty well able to judge how far the Character here given of a *Scripture-Editor* may be allowed to our *Proposer*; for his *Citations from St. Hierom* may serve as an Instance of his *Fidelity*; and the Conduct and Matter of these Proposals be a Proof of his *Judgment*; and his great *Experience in Theological Studies*, may easily be computed from his whole Life spent in *critical Niceties*, and Observations on *Classical Authors*.

But he is very sensible, we see, what a Notion the World has entertained of his *critical Faculty*, and to quiet the Apprehensions People are under, lest he should treat the *Sacred Writers* with as little Ceremony as he has done the *Profane*, mangle and alter them at pleasure, agreeably to his own *Taste and Judgment*, without regard to the *Authority of Manuscripts*: He here declares, that he *will not alter one Letter in the Greek of Stephanus, and Latin of the two Popes, without Authorities subjoined.*

But the *Dutch Orator and old Friend of his Peter Burman*, whom I have quoted in the Title Page, has told us already what we are to expect; and it happens very unluckily for him, that he has not the Command of himself to keep his Resolution through one single Chapter; for besides some *literal Alterations* in the Greek, without any *Authority subjoined*, he has made an *Emendation* in the third Verse of the *Latin*; which he owns to be *contrary to all the Manuscripts he ever saw.*

Paragraph the Sixth.

*If the Author has any thing to suggest towards a Change of the Text, not supported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it separate in his Prolegomena; in which will be a large Account of the several MSS. here used, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition useful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Design is to serve the whole Christian Name. He draws no Consequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any disputed Points, old or new. He consecrates this Work, as a *κειμήλιον*, a *κτῆμα ἑσπεῖον*, a Charter, a Magna Charta, to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the Antient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguish'd.*

REMARKS.

Our Author in this Paragraph, ravished with the great Success of his Labours, and the Prospect of his immortal Fame, cannot forbear *antedating* his future Glory, and signing his *Exegi monumentum* at the wrong end of his Work; but his Vanity seems full as ill natur'd as extravagant: for a *simple Immortality* will not, we see, content him, he must have no Rival: It is not enough that his Works live for ever, unless all others die; and his Edition must needs last, when all the *antient Manuscripts* are not onely *lost*, but (in a Phrase as barbarous as the Thought) *extinguish'd* too.

He has been ransacking, we find, all the Languages he is Master of, for *proper Encomiums* to bestow upon this Work of his; and one would think, that in *torturing the Scriptures*, he thought it necessary *like Pilate*, to set up an *Inscription* in three different Tongues. *Κεῖμήλιον*, Charter, Magna Charta.

Κεῖμήλιον signifies some *Rarity* or *choice* piece of Furniture, *not used*, but always *laid up* and *kept close* with great care by the Owner. *Virgil* expresses the force of it by *condita seruo*, and Dr. *Mills* very properly calls the *Alexandrian Manuscript* a *Κεῖμήλιον*; but to apply it

to any printed Edition design'd for common use, and to be in every Bodies Hands, is a manifest Impropriety and Contradiction in Terms; but since the *Alexandrian Manuscript* is, we find, to be extinguish'd, and this Edition to take its place, it may very well by a *Prolepsis* take its Title too, and so the Objection is solved.

But he will find it more difficult, I doubt, to account for the Authority he here assumes, of granting *Charters and Magna Charta's to the Christian Church*: The Scriptures, I know, have sometimes been called the *Church's Charter*, and Dr. Trot in the Preface to his *Clavis Linguae sanctæ*, calls them *magnam Chartam non Regis terrestris sed cælestis subditis suis concessam*; which is at best but a coarse kind of Metaphor, and a Diminution to the sacred Writings: But to fasten this and the other Titles here given upon any particular unauthorized Edition, is an Insolence more than *Papistish*, and altogether new and unheard of among *Protestants*, and is so far from becoming any private Regulator of the Text, that it is more than any National Church could justify to its Members: But after all his meaning may perhaps be very harmless, and his *Charter and Magna Charta* may signify nothing more than his small and his great Paper described in the next Paragraph.

Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

To publish this Work, according to its Use and Importance, a great Expence is requisite: It's design'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, but with the best Letter, Paper, and Ink that Europe affords. It must therefore be done by Subscription or Contribution. As it will make Two Tomes in Folio, the Lowest Subscription for Smaller Paper must be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in present; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.

The Work will be put to the Press, as soon as Money is contributed to support the Charge of the Impression; and no more Copies will be Printed than are subscribed for. The Overseer and Corrector of the Press will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER of Trinity-College

College in Cambridge; who with great Accurateness has collated many MSS at Paris for the present Edition. And the Issue of it, whether Gain or Loss, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.

REMARKS.

In a Design like this, pretended to be undertaken for the *Service of the Christian World*, any other Man would have contrived as well as he could to have kept out of sight all *selfish Views and Motives*, all Regards to *Gain and filthy Lucre*: But we find in these two Paragraphs such *sordid Insinuations*, such low and poultry *higgling to squeeze our Money from us, viz. great Expence requisite; shall be put to the Press as soon as Money is contributed; no more printed than subscribed for; the best Letter, Paper and Ink in Europe; the lowest Price must be, &c.* that it puts me in mind of those *Mendicants* in the Streets, who beg our Charity with an *half Sheet of Proposals* pinn'd upon their Breasts: To what purpose is it to tell us that Mr. *John Walker* is to go halves with him in the *Gain or Loss* of this Work, except to move the *Compassion of good Christian People*, and to beg of us, however unkind we may be to himself, yet not to see a *poor young Critick* undone for want of charitable Contributions?

But indeed most People are agreed in Opinion, that he has borrowed his Scheme from *Change-Alley*, and in this Age of *Bubbles* took the hint to set up *one of his own*: For having invented a *rare Secret* to make *Paper* more durable than *Parchment*, and a *printed Book*, however used and tumbled about, to *out-last any Manuscript* preserved with the utmost Care, he presently *takes in a Partner*, opens *Books for Subscriptions* and does not in the least question but that *Bentley's Bubble* will be as famous and profitable as the best of them; and so leaving him to carry on *his Trade*, I shall pass on to an Observation or two upon his Specimen.

THE SPECIMEN.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ ΚΕΦ. κβ΄.

Ι **Κ** ΑΙ ἰδοὺ μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς, λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον, ἐκπυρρυνόμενον ἐκ τῆς θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρνίας.

2 Εὐμέσθη ἡ πλατεία αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς ποταμῆς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν, ξύλον ζωῆς περὶ καρπούς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδὼν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς ξύλου εἰς θήρεσιν αὐτῶν.

3 Καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα ἐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρνίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται, καὶ οἱ δούλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσουσιν αὐτῷ.

4 Καὶ ὕψονται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

5 Καὶ νύξ ἐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνης καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου, ἔτι κύριος ὁ Θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

1 μοι καθαρὸν ποταμὸν, 2 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν. 3 πᾶν καταθέμα. 5 ἐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ. καὶ χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχουσι λύχνης καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου. φωτίζει αὐτούς.

APOCALYPSEOS CAP. XXII.

Ι **E**T ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae, splendidum tamquam Crystallum, procedentem de sede Dei & agni.

2 In medio plateae ejus, & ex utraque parte fluminis, lignum vitae adferens fructus duodecim, per menses singulos reddens fructum suum, & folia ligni ad sanitatem gentium.

3 Et omne maledictum non erit amplius, & sedes Dei & agni in illa erit, & servi ejus servient illi.

4 Et videbunt faciem ejus, & nomen ejus in frontibus eorum.

5 Et nox ultra non erit, & non egebunt lumine lucernae neque lumine solis, quoniam dominus Deus inluminabit illos, & regnabunt in saecula saeculorum.

3 sed sedes dei. in illa erunt.

I. Καθαρὸν ποταμὸν] Deest καθαρὸν Alex. Codd. Anglici duo, Gallici tres; Vers. Copt. Syr. Aeth. Hilarius; Codd. Latini omnes. sed Andreas & Arethas ποταμὸν καθαρὸν. Gall. unus, ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς καθαρὸν. II. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν] Alex. Codd. Angl. duo, Gall. quatuor, Germ. unus, Arethas, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν. III. Καταθέμα] Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Codd. plerique omnes, Editio Complut. κατάθεμα. Sed sedes dei] Codd. Lat. plerique omnes Et sedes, ut Graeci omnes καὶ Erunt] Ita Codd. quos adhuc vidi; Legendum Erit; nam Graeci universi θρόνος. V. Νύξ ἐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ] Alex. ἔσται ἔτι, Syr. Latini omnes. In Graecis plerisque deest ἐκεῖ. Χρεῖαν ἔχουσι λύχνης] Alex. ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνης; & sic Gregorius Palamas, & Codd. Latini omnes. Syrus. Copt. Aethiop. Φωτὸς ἡλίου] Alex. Φῶς ἡλίου. Φωτίζει αὐτούς] Latini plerique Illuminat, Sed Alex. Greg. Palamas, φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτούς.

6 Καὶ εἰ πῶς μοι, αὐτοὶ εἰ λόγοι
πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινὰ καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ
Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀ-
πίστωται τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι
ταῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ὅτι διὰ χρηστέον ἐν
τάχει.

7 Καὶ ἰδὼν ἔρχομαι ταχύ. μα-
κάριος ὁ τηρῶν τὰς λόγους τοῦ προ-
φητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου.

8 Καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέ-
πων ταῦτα. Καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἑ-
βλεπον, ἔπεσα προσκυνοῦντας πρὸς
ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ δειγνύοντός
μοι ταῦτα.

9 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Ὅρα μή. σιω-
δῶνός σε εἰμι, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σε
τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τὰς
λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. τῷ Θεῷ
προσκύνησον.

6 καὶ κύριος, deest ὁ. ὁ Θεὸς τῶν
ἁγίων προφητῶν. 7 Ἰδὼν, deest καὶ. 8 Καὶ
ἐγὼ. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων. καὶ ἑβλεψα,
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν. 9 σε γὰρ εἰμι.

6 Et dixit mihi, Haec verba
fidelissima & vera sunt & domi-
nus Deus spirituum prophetarum
misit angelum suum, ostendere
servis suis quae oportet fieri cito.

7 Et ecce venio velociter.
beatus qui custodit verba prophe-
tiae libri hujus.

8 Et ego Johannes, qui audiui
& vidi haec. Et postquam au-
dissem & vidissem, cecidi ut ado-
rarem ante pedes angeli qui mihi
haec ostendebat.

9 Et dicit mihi, Vide ne fe-
ceris: conservus tuus sum, &
fratrum tuorum prophetarum,
& eorum qui servant verba libri
hujus: Deum adora.

6 fidelissima sunt & vera.

9 Et dixit mihi. Conservus enim tuus.
verba prophetiae libri.

VI. Καὶ κύριος] Alex. καὶ ὁ κύριος. Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν] Sic edidit Erasmus.
Sed Complut. Alex. Arethas, Graeci. Codd. fere omnes, Latini omnes, Syr. Copt.
Aethiop. τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφ. Fidelissima sunt & vera] Codd. veteres, fid. &
vera sunt. VII. Ἰδὼν] Καὶ ἰδὼν Alex. Andreas, Arethas, Syrus, Codd. Graeci plerique
omnes, Latini ad unum omnes. VIII. Καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰω. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων] Alex.
Andreas, Complut. Syrus, Latinus, Codd. Graeci plures. Καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰω. ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων
ταῦτα. Dionysius Alexandrinus bis, Καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα. Ἐμπροσθεν τῶν
ποδῶν] Alex. πρὸ ποδῶν. IX. Et dixit mihi] Codd. veteres constanter, Dicit; ut
Gr. λέγει. Συνδελός σε γὰρ εἰμι. & Vulg. Conservus enim tuus sum] Atqui Alex.
Arethas, Andreas, Athanasius, Copt. Syr. Graeci Codd. omnes tollunt γὰρ; &
Latini itidem omnes & Cyprianus tollunt enim. Verba prophetiae libri] Latini veteres
omnes tollunt prophetiae.

10 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τὰς λόγους τῆ προφητείας τῆ βιβλίου τούτου· ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν.

11 Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι.

12 Ἰδὲ ἔρχομαι ταχύ· καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.

13 Εγὼ τὸ Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ω, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος.

14 Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία

10 τούτου· ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν. 11 Καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι. ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι. 12 Καὶ ἰδὲ. ἔργον αὐτῶν ἔσται. 13 Εγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. 14 Μακάριοι οἱ ποιῶντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἵνα.

X Ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν.] Sic Andreas, & Cyprianus bis, *Quia jam tempus in proximo est.* Sed Alex. Codices Gr. plures, Syr. Copt. Latini omnes, Ο καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν. Graeci ceteri ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν. defunt ὅτι & γὰρ. XI. Καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι.] Deest hoc Comma in Alex. & duobus Gallicis errore Librariorum ob repetitionem τῆ ἔτι. At ceteri fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι. Origenes ad Johannem bis, ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι. Idem ibid. aliud membrum addit, Ως ὁ Ἰωάννης φησι, καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς καθαρισθήτω ἔτι (MS. Oxon. καθαρευθήτω) καὶ ὁ ἅγ. ἁγιασθήτω. Καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω] Alex. & Codd. ceteri omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. Latin. Syr. Copt. δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω. Cyprianus bis; Justus *justiora faciat* adhuc. Et qui justus est *justificetur* adhuc) veteres Codd. fere omnes, Et Justus justitiam faciat adhuc. XII. Καὶ ἰδὲ] Delent καὶ Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Arethas Complut. Syr. Copt. Latini Codd omnes. Cyprianus bis. Ἔργον αὐτῶν ἔσται] Alex. Gallicus unus, Syr. ἐστὶν αὐτῶν XIII. Εγὼ εἰμι] Deest εἰμι Alex. Athanasius, Codd. fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas. Sed Origenes habet εἰμι bis. Ego sum] Deest sum. Codex Sancti Germani veterissimus. Ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.] Sic Andreas, Arethas, & Codd. quidam. Sed Alex. Athanasius. Codd. Anglici tres. Gall. duo, Syr. Latini omnes, Cyprianus, alio ordine, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Origenes bis habet ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος: sed ordine, ut Andreas. XIV. Οἱ ποιῶντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ] Ita Codd. Graeci plerique omnes, Copt. Syr. Tertull. Cypr. Sed Alex. Anglicus unus, Aeth.

Latini

10 Et dicit mihi, Ne signaveris verba prophetiae libri hujus: tempus enim prope est.

11 Qui nocet noceat adhuc, & qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc, & justus justitiam faciat adhuc, & sanctus sanctificetur adhuc.

12 Ecce venio cito: & merces mea mecum est, reddere unicuique secundum opera sua.

13 Ego Α & Ω, primus & novissimus, principium & finis.

14 Beati qui lavant stolas suas, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno

11 Et qui justus est justificetur adhuc.

13 Ego sum Α & Ω. 14 Stolas suas in sanguine agni.—& per portas intrent.

vitae

αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆ ζωῆς, καὶ τοῖς
φυλάσιν εἰσελθουσὶν εἰς τὴ πόλιν.

15 Ἐξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ
καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδω-
λολάτραι, καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ πωῶν
ψεῦδος.

16 Εγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιμύσα τὴ ἄγ-
γελίαν μου, μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα
καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμ-
πρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωϊνός.

17 Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη
λέγουσιν Ἐρχε· καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπά-
τω, Ἐρχε· καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω·
ὁ θέλων λαβεῖτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δω-
ρεάν.

18 Μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ
ἀκούοντι τὰς λόγους τῆ προφητείας
τῆ βιβλίου τούτου, ἵνα τις ἐπιθή ἐπ’

vitae, & portis intrent in civi-
tatem.

15 Foris canes & venefici &
impudici & homicidae & idolis
servientes, & omnis qui amat &
facit mendacium.

16 Ego Jesus misi angelum
meum, testificari vobis haec in
Ecclesiis. ego sum radix & genus
David, stella splendida & ma-
tutina.

17 Et spiritus & sponsa dicunt,
Veni: & qui audit dicat, Veni:
& qui sitit veniat: qui vult
accipiat aquam vitae gratis.

18 Confessor ego omni audi-
enti verba prophetiae libri hu-
jus, si quis adposuerit ad haec,

adponet

15 Ἐξω δὲ οἱ κύνες, πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν. 16
ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς. γένος τοῦ Δαυὶδ. λαμπρὸς
καὶ ὁ πρωϊνός. 17 λέγουσιν, Ἐλθέ. εἰπάτω,
Ἐλθέ. διψῶν ἐλθέτω, καὶ—λαμβανέτω τὸ
ὕδωρ. 18 Συμμαρτυρεῖμαι γὰρ παντὶ

17 Et qui vult. 18 Confessor enim
omni.

Latini Codd. omnes οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς σολὰς αὐτῶν, Athanas. οἱ πλαινούντες ποιεῖντες τὰς
σολὰς αὐτῶν, errore Librarii pro πλύνοντες. Arethas, ποιεῖντες τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐμῆς: ut sen-
tentia illa postulare videtur. In sanguine agni] Desunt in veteribus Codd. omnibus.
Per portas] Tres Codd. veterrimi portis, ut Graeci omnes τοῖς φυλάσιν. XV. Ἐξω
δὲ οἱ κύνες] Deest δὲ Alex. ceteri fere omnes, Athanasius, Hippolytus, Andreas, Are-
thas, Complut. Latini omnes, Cyprianus. Πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν] Deest articulus ὁ Alex. alii
multi. Sed Athanasius, Hippolytus, cum Codd quibusdam πᾶς ποιεῖν καὶ φιλῶν.
XVI. Ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις] Ἐν ταῖς Alex Codd. 2 Gallici, Athanasius. Deest prae-
positio in Codd. multis. Τῷ Δαυίδ] Deest τοῦ Alex Codd. multi. Athanasius, Andreas,
Arethas. Porro omnes Graeci Δαυὶδ, vel compendiose δαδ; nusquam invenitur Δαβίδ.
Λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωϊνός] Alex. καὶ ὁ πρωϊνός. Sed ceteri Codd. cum Athanasio, Andrea,
Aretha, Complut. πρωϊνός. XVII. Ἐλθέ ἐλθέ—ἐλθέτω] Alex. & ceteri omnes, Atha-
nas. And. Arethas, Complut. ἔρχε—ἔρχε—ἔρχέσθω. Καὶ ὁ θέλων λαμβανέτω τὸ ὕδωρ]
Deest καὶ & postea ὁ θέλων λαβεῖτω ὕδωρ. Alex. Cod. fere omnes, Athanasius, Andre-
as, Complut. Et qui vult] Codd. Latini veteres tollunt Et. XVIII. Συμμαρτυρεῖμαι
γὰρ] Alex. & alii Codd. plerique & Complut. & Andreas μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ; pauci cum
Aretha

αὐτὰ, ἐπιθήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν
τὰς πληγὰς τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν
τῇ βιβλίῳ τέτῳ.

19 Καὶ εἰάν τις ἀφείλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν
λόγων τῆ βιβλίου τῆ προφητείας ταυ-
της, ἀφείλει ὁ Θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτῆς
ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆ ζωῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῆ πό-
λεως τῆ ἀγίας, τῆ γεγραμμένων ἐν
τῇ βιβλίῳ τέτῳ.

20 Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα,
Ναὶ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν, ἔρχε-
κύριε Ἰησοῦ.

21 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
μετὰ πάντων.

adponet Deus super illum plagas
scriptas in libro isto.

19 Et si quis diminuerit de
verbis libri prophetiae hujus,
auferet Deus partem ejus de ligno
vitae, & de civitate sancta, [et
de his] quae scripta sunt in li-
bro isto.

20 Dicit qui testimonium per-
hibet istorum, Etiam venio cito.
Amen, veni domine Jesu.

21 Gratia domini Jesu cum
omnibus.

ἀκ. εἰάν τις ἐπιτιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα. ἐν
βιβλίῳ δεστ τῷ. 19 εἰάν τις ἀφαιρῇ—
λόγων βίβλου. ἀφαιρήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ—
βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς—καὶ τῶν γεγραμ. ἐν
βιβλίῳ. 20 Ναὶ ἔρχε. 21 κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστῷ μετὰ π. ὑμῶν ἀμήν.

19 de libro vitae. 21 Domini nostri Jesu
Christi cum o. vobis. Amen.

Arethra μαρτύρομαι ἐγώ: nullus, quod sciam, συμμαρτυρῆμαι, neque γάρ. Contestor enim omni] Codd. veterrimi quicumque, Contestor ego omni. Παντὶ ἀκύνοντι] Alex. Andreas, Arethas, Codices plures, παντὶ τῷ ἀκ. Ἐπιτιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα] Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτὰ. Ἐπ' αὐτὸν] Deest Alex. sed ceteri Graeci & Latini omnes cum Andrea & Aretha habent. Ἐν βιβλίῳ] Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Codd. plurimi ἐν τῷ βιβ. XIX. Αφαιρῇ—ἀφαιρήσει] Alex. Codd. plerique, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ἀφείλῃ, & deinde pro ἀφαιρήσει. Alex. Arethas cum Codd. pluribus habent ἀφείλει: alii cum Andrea & Complut. ἀφείλοι; & hi supra pro ἐπιθήσει habent ἐπιθῇ. Λόγων βίβλου] Τῇ βιβλίῳ Alex. Codd. fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas. Ἀπὸ βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς] Alex. Codd. Graeci fere omnes; Andreas, Complut. Syr. Aeth. ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. De libro vitae] Latini quique vetustissimi; de ligno vitae. Καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων] Deest καὶ Alex. Codd. fere omnes, Complut. Andreas, Arethas, Copt. Syr. Aeth. Ἐν βιβλίῳ] Idem Codd. cum Andrea & Aretha ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ. XX. Ἀμήν, ναὶ ἔρχε] Deest ναὶ Alex. Codd. plurimi, Andreas, Syr. Copt. Aeth. XXI. Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν] Deest ἡμῶν Alex. Codd. plures, Andreas, Arethas. Nostri] Deest Cod. vetustus Gallicus. Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] Deest Alex. Christi] Deest codex Anglicus. Μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν] Desunt ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν. Alex. Cum omnibus vobis, Amen] Desunt vobis, Amen. 3 Codd. Gallici.

REMARKS.

I have been endeavouring to shew in the foregoing Remarks, that *our Editor*, upon his own Scheme, cannot give us any thing new, or at least considerable above what has already been executed in former Editions; and for the Truth of what I have advanced, I come now to appeal to his *Specimen*; where, tho' one would have expected something *great* and *extraordinary*, equal to the *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of his *Proposals*, yet with all his *Hints* and *Conjectures*, his *old Manuscripts* and *Versions* he has not been able to produce *one single Reading*, which we do not find long ago exhibited in Dr. *Mills's* Edition: All the difference is that he has inserted some Readings into the Text, which the Doctor for good Reasons has left to the Judgment of his Reader at the bottom of his Page.

I shall not examine the Merit of each particular Alteration he has made in the Text, it will be sufficient to take notice onely of one, as a Taste of his great *Sagacity* and *Judgement*.

In the second Verse of this Chapter, all the Editions I have yet seen, read ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, which is a *pure Hebraism* expressed always in that Language by a *Repetition of the same Word* הנה והנה: מכאן ומכאן: מזה ומזה: *hinc & hinc*: we find the Phrase very often in the Old Testament, and constantly rendred in the Greek by ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐνθεν καὶ ἐθεν, ἐνθα καὶ ἐθα, (*Dan. xii. 5. Numb. xxii. 24. Ezek. xl. 34, 37. 1 Mac. vi. 45.*) and St. *John* himself in his Gospel, (*xix. 18.*) has likewise the very words ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, without so much as a *various Reading* yet observed upon it; and 'tis not possible to imagine, that being a *Jew* he could use any other Phrase. Yet our Editor not content, like Dr. *Mills*, to observe in his Notes the different Reading of this Passage in some *few Manuscripts*, has instead of the second ἐντεῦθεν boldly advanced ἐκεῖθεν into the Text, fancying it, I suppose, to be something more *Elegant*.

As

As for the *Latin Version*, the Reader will easily see, that it is upon the Matter a *Verbal Translation*, imitating as nearly as possible the great Plainness and Simplicity of Stile in the *Greek*, which makes it necessary in a good Measure to fall into the *same Order of Words*; but this is no new Observation or Discovery of our Proposer's, but what all other Editors have constantly observed, and applied accordingly to their Purpose: St. *Austin* calls this Version, *Verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate Sententiæ*.

And Dr. *Mills* shews us the Genius and Nature of it through all the several Books of the New Testament, and says, that in the *Revelations particularly*, *Versio admodum accurata erat, ipsisque textus Græci Vestigiis ubique fere κατὰ πόδας infistebat, nisi cum series narrationis exigeret, ut mutarentur verborum tempora*. Proleg. Which may suggest one Reason, amongst others which are obvious, why *this Chapter* was made choice of for the *Specimen*; but that the *Order of Words of the Greek* is not constantly and unalterably observed in the *Latin*, appears from many Instances in this Chapter, as I have above remarked; which is sufficient to overthrow our Author's Hypothesis.

After all, I will not pretend to deny, that our Author may possibly have met with and collated some few *Manuscripts*, which Dr. *Mills* had not heard or made use of; but what Reason or Pretence can this give him for such a Triumph and Insult over all the Editors before him?

He has already told us, (*Remarks on Free-thinkers*. page 69.) That with all the *Thirty Thousand various Readings*, no one Article of Faith or even moral Precept is either lost or perverted in them, chuse as awkwardly as you can, chuse the worst by design out of the whole lump: How ridiculous is it then to make such a pother about the discovery of a few more insignificant ones, as if the Cause of Religion, and the Support of the *Christian Church* depended upon it?

He may indeed, if he pleases, like his *Friend Dr. Kuster*, publish a new *Edition of Dr. Mills's Work*, with the additional Readings he has picked up (if any such there be) and the *Latin Version* besides ; but while he pretends to give us a new *Original Edition of his own*, upon the *Scheme and Plan of these Proposals*, he will be found, I am apt to think, at last to have acted the *Plagiary* rather than the *Critick*.

I might properly enough observe the many *Blunders and Erratas of the Press*, (as remarkable in *this Specimen* as in the very worst of our *printed Editions*) to shew that there is no kind of *Inaccuracy* but what may justly be charged upon it; but the Reader is, I believe, already sufficiently convinced with the *Author of St. James's Post*, that those *Proposals are a most curious Piece*, since so much *Vanity, Pedantry, Blunder, and Self-Contradiction* were hardly ever found together before within the compass of one single Sheet.

SOME FARTHER
REMARKS,
PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,
UPON
PROPOSALS
Lately published for
A New EDITION
OF A
Greek and Latin Testament,
BY
RICHARD BENTLEY,

CONTAINING

A full Answer to the Editor's late Defence of his said
PROPOSALS, as well as to all his Objections there made
against my former REMARKS.

Imperitiam tuam nemo potest fortiùs accusare, quam Tu ipse dum scribis.
Hieron.

—*Occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum scripturas omninò
sanctas ignoraverit; & nemo possit, quamvis eloquens, de eo benè disputare,
quod nesciat. Ibid.*

T H E

P R E F A C E.

AS soon as my Remarks were published, finding that I was threatned with an Answer, I began, one may imagine, to be in no small Pain for my self; especially when I recollected, that it was an old Trick with our good Christian Editor, to talk weakly often out of Design, [a] to dissemble his Strength, and keep his Arguments out of Sight, on purpose to draw some forward, wrangling Loggerhead into his Net, and so make a little Mirth and Sport with him for the Entertainment of the Learned. I could not help fancying, that I had swallowed the Bait, and was certainly caught in one of his Critical Traps; I began to reflect that his Proposals could hardly be so weak, as they appeared, without some Trick, some Design at the bottom; and that as shallow as I thought them, they might probably be found at last to be plena sensibus, * full of deep, latent, recondite Senses, such as my poor Capacity could not fathom; and that I was now to be made an Example of, for a Warning to all future Nibblers at the Fame and Learning of this Great Man. p. 22.

But his answer no sooner appeared, than all my Fears were at an End; for I presently found, that I had put him past his joking, and that instead of diverting himself and his Brother Critics at my Expence, the Jest was much more likely to end upon himself: For tho' his Title promised us a full Answer to my Remarks, yet I observed, that he had passed over many material ones, without any Answer at all; and that where he had exerted all his Skill and Pains, his Reasoning was so evasive, so prevaricating, and so little to the Purpose, as to give me onely a farther Opportunity of demonstrat-

[a] Non rarò etiam data operâ brevior contractiorque fui, consultò viribus parcens, & quæ in promptu mihi erant, opes dissimulans; ut stolidi & ad depugnandum

parati se in laqueos inopinantes induerent, risum jocumque nasutioribus daturi, Vid. Bentl. Not. in Horat.

The P R E F A C E.

ing the two things I had undertaken, viz. his great Ignorance of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and the main Points in Dispute; as well as his manifest Incapacity for the Work now upon his Hands; an Edition of the New Testament.

But what was the most surprizing in this extraordinary Piece of his, was to find it to be in Fact a most virulent and malicious Libel upon Dr. Colbatch, a Reverend and Learned Member of his College, on Pretence of his being the Author of the Remarks; tho' he could not possibly be ignorant long before his Book was published, that this worthy Gentleman was perfectly unconcerned in the Controversy; wholly out of the Question; and had not any Share or Part at all in advising or assisting me on the Occasion. For I no sooner heard, that some of my Friends were suspected by him, but to prevent any Inconvenience which might befall such of them as were more immediately under his Power, I freely owned myself the sole Author, gave Commission to my Acquaintance to make no Secret of it any where; and was informed, at different times, by several of them, that they had assured some of his principal Friends and Confidants of the Truth and Certainty of it, to their own Knowledge. Dr. Colbatch on the other hand, did from the beginning (as he afterwards thought fit to declare by a printed Advertisement) constantly disclaim the Imputation in such a publick and open Manner, as must of Necessity come to the Knowledge of our Editor.

But tho' he knew very well the true Author, ye he was resolved to dissemble it, for the double Pleasure it would give him of abusing Dr. Colbatch, and shewing his Contempt of me. He has long made it his Business to represent me every where as a worthless, insignificant Mortal; the Musical Conyers; † the Publisher of other Mens Labours. He began the Controversy in the College, by writing a most false and scandalous Libel upon me by Name, as well as all the other Fellows of the Society who were Petitioners against him to the late Bishop of Ely. And to have owned me for the Author of Remarks, which the World had received with Approbation, would have been little better than giving himself the Lie; to own, that I could produce any thing in the Way of Learning

ing *considerable enough to merit an Answer from him, was a Mortification too severe for him to submit to.*

*As to the Merit of his Performance; nothing sure was ever contrived or conducted so injudiciously. He represents my Remarks * as the Product of meer Spleen and Envy; yet gives me* p. 10. the only Satisfaction a splenetic Writer could wish, of seeing that they have stung him to the quick, and galled him most effectually. He would have them looked upon as trifling and contemptible; † yet † p. 44. will needs have them written by a Person eminent and distinguished in the University for his Learning. His Business is to shew what singular Talents he has for an Editor of the New Testament; yet he has convinced us by his manner of Writing, that he has never read with any Effect, or studied with any Care the very Books he pretends to publish.*

Some People have observed, that the onely Way of entering into the true Spirit and Sentiments of an Author, is to put our selves, in Imagination at least, into the very Circumstances he was in at the Time of his Writing. But our Editor is so far from accommodating himself to the Character and Condition of an Apostle; so far from composing his Mind to that Charity, Meekness and Benevolence, which flows in every Expression of the Gospel, that he has been giving us a Specimen onely, how well he could imitate and publish Philippics; and that the best Heathen Orator of them all is not to be compared with him, for the true Virulence and Rancour of his Invectives.

A Cause, supported with so much Passion and Scandal, will always be suspected by Men of Sense and Candour; Reason and Truth could never raise such Tempests in the Breast, but give an easiness always and Complacency to the Mind; 'tis the Consciousness of being in the wrong, and the Shame of being detected that ruffle and disorder it.

Ἀπορία λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται. *Euseb.*

'Tis, as Eusebius observes, pure want of Argument that sets him thus

The P R E F A C E.

thus a railing ; 'tis the Rage of a foil'd and baffled Critic ; the Fury of an old Tyrant in Letters, to find, after a Reign of thirty Years, his Title at last disputed, and his Ignorance exposed.

I have avoided to take any Notice, in the following Remarks, of the wretched Scandal and Scurrility, which crowd his Pages to the Offence of all good Persons ; I could easily have forgiven any Turns of Wit or Raillery arising from the Subject, however severe upon me, or however awkwardly attempted by him ; but for the senseless, unpointed Ribaldry which every Paragraph of his is filled with ; 'tis enough for me to leave it to that universal Contempt, which I'm sensible it has met with ; were I capable of returning it in kind, I could despise my self, I assure him, much more heartily than he does. But we may hope however to reap from it one Satisfaction, that it will probably oblige the worthy Gentleman so scandalously injured by it, to give the Publick some Account of his own and our Editor's Conduct in the present Differences of the College ; it is now in a manner become necessary for him to publish some Apology for himself, and not to suffer his Person and Character to be exposed to the World under such false and detestable Colours as our Editor has painted them in.

And lest I should again be the unhappy Instrument of drawing so much Trouble and Injury upon any other Friend of mine ; I have here set my Name to my present Performance, owning my self to be wholly answerable for every thing contained in it ; and being desirous to give our Editor all the Satisfaction I am able, am content to declare my self in as ample Manner and Form, as his own Lawyers had drawn up for me on another Occasion ; that I am the sole Collector, Composer and Author of every Part, Paragraph and Sentence in the following Book.

There's one thing which I find necessary to recommend to the Reader, before I close this Preface ; that is, to observe and distinguish the true State of the Question, between our Editor and my self, as far as relates to St. Jerom and the Order of Words. He lays much Stress every where upon the close Adherence of the old Latin Versions to the Order of Words of the Original ; and many,

I am sensible, for want of Attention, have been deceived by it into an Opinion of the Justness and Truth of his Reasoning, as if it were confirmed by Fact and Experiment. Whereas all this is really nothing at all to his Purpose, nor in any Manner affects the present Controversy; I have already allowed it in my former Remarks, and shall again observe in the following ones how most of our Prior Editors have long since taken notice of it, and made all the Use, that can be drawn from it in their several Editions. The single Point in Dispute as to this Case, is how far St. Jerom contributed to this Agreement in Words and Order of Words between the Latin and Greek of the New Testament. He maintains, that St. Jerom, believing the Order of Words to be mysterious, confined himself religiously to the Observance of it, in his Translations of Scripture, and consequently in his Castigation of the Old Vulgate, took care to adapt and reduce it, as much as he could, to this very Order. This is all that is new in his present Scheme; this he lays down as the sole Reason and Foundation of his intended Edition; and this is the onely Notion which I have endeavoured to expose; if I have succeeded in it, the Reader must own, that I have performed what I had undertaken, and have shewn this great Design of his to be at least very ill grounded, and rashly and injudiciously undertaken.

Lest any one should think that I have been too severe, in my Reflections upon the Stile and Language of our Editor, I thought it necessary to subjoin here a Specimen of it; where I have taken no other Liberty with his Words, than that of collecting and ranging them into some kind of Order.

An English Cabbage-head, p. 37.

An Insect, a Worm, a Maggot, Book-Vermin; the Venom of such Vermin, p. 10, 36.

The Animal; a sharp-sighted Mole; a gnawing Rat; a snarling Dog; a roaring Lion in Libya with long Ears, p. 11, 10, 18, 28, 11.

The Man with a thick Hide and solid Forehead; Suffenus, Zoilus, Margites, Timon, Misanthrope, swarthy Timon, hard-fac'd Timon, grinning Zoilus, of Intellect as dark as his Countenance, p. 13, 9, 25, 33, 22, 27, 30.

The P R E F A C E.

An ignorant Thief; a Wretch of native Stupidity; of low Talents and vicious Taste; supercilious Pedant; casuistick Drudge; plodding Pupil of Escobar; of superficial Learning and profound Ignorance; a Fool labouring to be witty; of Fog and Dulness; of substantial Stupidity; of Stupour and Insensibility beyond the famous Tom Coryat, p. 30, 25, 31, 42, 22, 29, 13, 37, 23, 33, 36.

A Mountebank of habitual Grimace, who for many Years has daily acted a Grimace; aiming at aukward Ridicule; with Eyes, Muscles and Shoulders wrought into a solemn Posture of Gravity, p. 43, 31, 10, 37, 10.

Of most tenacious and sordid Avarice, p. 38.

Lunatick Timon; crazy-headed Censor; in a dark Room; under the Repute of Craziness and Madness; falling into raving Fits and sudden Extravagance under the Influence of the Moon; a Scribbler out of the dark; mad at the great Encouragement of the Proposals, he raged, stormed, and took his deadly Pen in Hand, p. 34, 10, 39, 32, 38, 24, 39.

Of Rancour and Malice implacable; of Spleen and Envy a spiteful Examiner; whose Life and Studies have been spent in libelling and defaming; squabbling in the College to keep up his Spirits; a Libeller of the Government; guilty of Scandalum Magnatum; old Conscience, good Affidavit-Man, yet left his Friend Conyers in peril of the Pillory; broaching always meer Knavery, with a Preface about his Conscience; a most impudent Liar; a pious Calumniator; ungrateful; malignant; virulent; detestable, p. 43, 39, 31, 36, 39, 11, 14, 35, 10, 21, 29, 14.

Legion, extending his wide Jaws, and smiling horrible like Satan, p. 9, 40.

And yet it is notorious to the whole University, that the Gentleman, whose Picture is here designed by our Editor, is as unlike and contrary to it in every Circumstance of his Character, as any Man living; being a Person of a studious, retired and exemplary Life; of a Vertue never reproached, except with too great a Severity; and of singular Talents and Abilities to adorn the honourable Post, he now fills amongst us; the Professorship of Casuistical Divinity.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20.

Finding my self to be treated after a most barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of Dr. Bentley's Proposals, with a full Answer, &c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of The Remarks upon the Proposals lately published by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it necessary upon several Accounts to declare as follows, viz.

That I am not the Author of those Remarks, nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Assistance or Knowledge.

That R. B. certainly knew, or easily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. MIDDLETON, who had own'd them to several of his Friends, by whose means he verily believes, that R. B. was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, presently after the Remarks were publish'd, I took all Occasions to declare as above, being obliged in Justice so to do, lest my Silence might in some measure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for so excellent a Performance; nor do I question but that R. B. before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I said on those Occasions.

That those foul Aspersions, which are cast upon me in almost every Page, are as false in Fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himself.

That I never wrote any Libels against the Government, the College, or the Master, as he falsely asserts.

I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publish'd any thing concerning the College, or the Master, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, which the Master pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would subscribe to every Word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit only for the Cognizance of a Visitor.

JOHN COLBATCH, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College,
and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University of
Cambridge.



CAMBRIDGE.

At a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, Feb. 27. 1720-21.

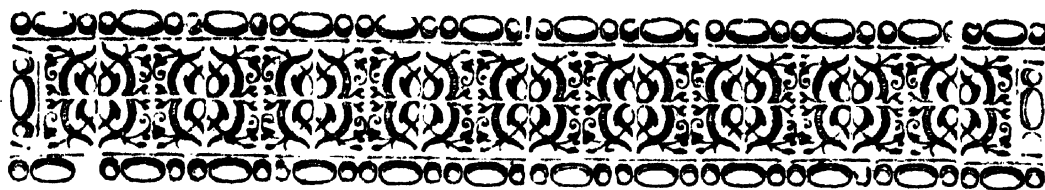
W *Hereas the Reverend John Colbatch, D. D. and Casuistical Professor of this University, hath made Complaint to us of a Book lately published, annexed to Proposals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Testament, &c. and call'd, A full Answer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity College, subscribed J. E. wherein the said John Colbatch conceives himself to be highly injured, as being represented under the most reproachful and infamous Characters, and hath therefore applied to us for Redress. We the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, whose Names are underwritten, having perused the said Book, do find that the said Dr. Colbatch had just Ground of Complaint, it appearing to us, that he is therein described under very odious and ignominious Characters, and do declare and pronounce the said Book to be a most virulent and scandalous Libel; highly injurious to the said Dr. Colbatch, contrary to good Manners, and a notorious Violation of the Statutes and Discipline of this University. And as soon as the Author of the said Libel can be discovered, we resolve to do Justice to the said Dr. Colbatch, by inflicting such Censure upon the Offender, as the Statutes of this University in that Case do appoint.*

Tho. Croffe, *Vice-Chancellor.*
John Covel.
C. Ashton.

Bardsey Fisher.
Edw. Lany.
R. Jenkin.

Wm. Grigg.
D. Waterland.
Wm. Savage.

S O M E



SOME FARTHER

REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON

PROPOSALS, &c.

OUR Editor begins his *dismal Story*, by acquainting us, that *the Author of the Remarks, at the first publishing, might have been called Legion* *; this we must own to * p. 9. be setting out like *an Editor of the New Testament*, with a *Scripture Simile* in his Mouth; but how does he make it out? Why, because *every one*, he says, *of the University that was thought to have Conceitedness and Malice enough to write it, was suspected to be the Author*. The Truth is, that he and his Friends did *me and my Remarks* the Honour to impute them to many Persons of *allowed Learning and Abilities*; and tho' it soon appeared, that not *one of those*, they were pleased to suspect, had the least Hand or Share in the Guilt, yet the *very suspicion*, it seems, was enough to make them odious; they were capable of doing it, and therefore *our Editor* hates them, and the Opportunity must not be lost of branding them here with the Characters of *conceited and malicious*.

But the Author's Party is discovered, he tells us, *in his Title-page, where our Master is named plain Richard Bentley, without the Honour of his Degree* *. This indeed is a Charge which * p. 9.

I cannot

I cannot deny to be true ; my *very Title page* discovers that I belong to an *University*, which has *deprived him of his Degrees* ; and might very justly have *deprived me too*, if I should pretend to bestow *Titles*, which she has thought fit *to take away* ; but *our Editor* knows full well that he has no Right or Claim to the *Stile of Doctor* ; and whenever he speaks or acts in his own Person, dare not so much as assume it himself ; in the *Title of his own Proposals*, we have no more than *Edidit Richardus Bentleius* ; and I, who am onely translating him, say, *published by Richard Bentley* ; pray where's the Difference ? In an *Information* drawn up and prosecuted by himself, for a *late Pamphlet* against him, *the Charge* is for vilifying the Reputation of *one Richard Bentley* ; the calling himself Doctor, might, he knows, have been fatal to his Cause, and have endanger'd a *Nonsuit* ; therefore, *Good Master Richard*, be not for once so ceremonious, nor stand so much upon Compliments with *your old Friend Conyers* †. But what is the most provoking to him is, that I will not allow him to have either *Talents* or *Materials* adequate to the Work he has undertaken ; this I must declare to be my Opinion, and as I am well convinc'd of it my self, do not question, before I have done with him, but to convince the World of it too ; but if this be possible, what an unhappy Consequence does he necessarily fasten upon it ? For then, says he, * *No body must any longer confide or be secure in his good Name ; a Worm, a Maggot can demolish it in a trice, and the highest Reputation in Letters acquired by repeated Proofs, for the space of above thirty Years is in one Day to be blasted by an Insect.*

† p. 35.

* p. 10.

Here we see what it was that made him so *confident*, so *secure* of imposing upon the World, *viz. his high Reputation in Letters* ; this, he imagined, would have made us receive, with a slavish implicit Applause, whatever he had pleased to propound to us ; he did not doubt, but *his over-bearing Name* would oblige us to Charge rather upon *our own Ignorance*, than that of so *learned an Editor*, the *apparent Folly and Blunder of his Proposals* ; or would have terrified us at least, from entring the Lists with so
renowned

*renowned and formidable a Champion; it is this Assurance, we see, that a great-part of his Reasoning chiefly turns upon; Have not I had the highest Reputation in Letters? How than can I want Talents or Materials? Has not my Life been spent in Critical Observations? How then can a crazy-headed Censor * pretend to * p. 10. teach me Latin?* This he reckons so conclusive, that it is the onely Answer he has given to the Charge of *Impropriety and false Latin*, which I had made to his *Title-page*; but he is not the onely Man I could name, who has acquired a *Reputation in Learning* much superior to his *Merit*, and has passed for a *wondrous Critick* in all the Languages, without being able to write any one of them with Taste or Correctness.

In the Close of his Introduction he charges me with having been *the Publisher of several Libels written by Dr. Colbatch against the Master †, the College, and the very Government; † p. 11.* and yet I declare, that I never yet published any thing in my Life that was not strictly and entirely of my own composing, nor any thing at all, that ever related to, or *reflected in any Manner upon the Government*; I did indeed in a late Pamphlet represent the *just Complaints of the Fellows of his College, (my old Friends and Fellow-Sufferers)* against his *oppressive Government*; for which he is now prosecuting me by way of *Information in the King's Bench*; but tho' he *flies to the Law* himself, as an *injur'd, libell'd Person*, yet he makes no Scruple, we see, *to libel me and others too* as much as he pleases, and with a Modesty peculiar to himself *prejudges the very Cause* now depending, and *condemns me even * to the Pillory.* * P. 35.

And tho' he is pleased to reflect upon Dr. Colbatch, for having *left me † in the Lurch*; I have yet the Satisfaction to † *ibid.* assure him, that I am provided with such *Affidavits* both from the *Doctor and several others*, as will be sufficient, tho' not perhaps *to justify me to the Law (which I did not at all understand, nor ever designed to offend)* yet to *justify me* however to the World from the *least Suspicion* of having done him any Injury.

Paragraph the First.

The Author of this Edition, observing that the Printed Copies of the New Testament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, such as the first Editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible, tho' with great Charge) above a thousand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Christianity, if he publishes a New Edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as represented in the most ancient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman Capital Letters.

REMARKS.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Repetition of what I have offered in my *Remarks in Answer to this Paragraph*; it will be sufficient to inform him, that thinking it my Duty to vindicate in some Measure the *Authority of our printed Scripture, so roundly struck at by our Editor*, and to defend the Characters of our *former Editors*, from the *vile Insinuations*, here thrown out upon them, I have shewn that several of them were Men of the *greatest Learning and Abilities* for a Work of this Nature, that all the *Countries of Christendom* could furnish; and that they had all the Assistance and Encouragement in the Execution of it, which the Power and Munificence of *Princes, Popes and Cardinals* could supply them with; that they were so far from taking up, or being content with *such Manuscripts as they happened to have at hand*, or had *pick'd up by chance*, or such as they could *easily and hastily get together*; that it was the Business and Labour of their Lives to search out every thing that was *curious and rare* in that Kind, or could be useful to their Purpose in any Part of the World; that we have Accounts of many Manuscripts procured for their Service

vice with great *Difficulty* and *Expence* from *different Regions*, *distant Countries*, *remote Islands*; that in Fact, *several of the Manuscripts* they made use of, are allowed by all Judges to be as *ancient and correct* as any now known in the World; that *their Editions* formed upon *these Manuscripts* have, ever since their Publication, been highly valued and esteemed by all Men of Sense and Learning, as generally *accurate and correct*, and by none more than *our Editor himself*, when he had no *private Views* or *Interests* to serve by decrying them.

And now, can any thing be a more full or direct Answer than this? He assures us, *that the Manuscripts of our printed Copies of the New Testament are of no great Antiquity*; he proved them to be of the greatest; he says, *that there are many MSS. in Europe, accessible, tho' with great Charge, above a thousand Year old*; and I have shewn, that *our Editors had actually Access* to several of *that Age*; and that no longer ago than fourteen Years, *all the Copies* known and famous in *Europe* were collated *for the Use of Dr. Mill*; he says, *that his MSS. are written in Greek and Roman Capital Letters*; a certain Characteristic of true Antiquity; and just so, say I, *are several of the Copies of every other Editor* I have mentioned.

This, I thought, was sufficient to prove the *Injustice* and *Barbarity* of his Treatment of all *former Editors*; Persons to whom the *Christian World* will always have the highest Obligation, and to whom no Man in it can be more particularly obliged *than himself*, if he is *sincere* and *in earnest* in the design of his Edition.

I shall proceed therefore to consider what he has to say in Justification of himself, *in this Answer of his*, which I am now examining; all which when laid together is *in Substance* and *Effect* just what follows, *viz.*

That let us say what we will of *our prior Editors*, they are not however to be named with the *mighty Bentley*; the Men might be passable enough for the *Age they lived in*, but we must not think to compare them to the *enlightened Criticks* of

these Times, to the *ἡμεῖς νῦν βροτοὶ σίμω*. For the World is now
 * p. 13. grown older and wiser, * has now advanc'd two whole Centuries
 in Age, since the Date of the Complutenſian and Erasmus's
 † p. 26. Edition, and as much within thirty Years ſince that of Rob. Ste-
 phens, that they, poor Men, † did not know how to uſe the
 * p. 12. very Manuscripts they had in their Hands; for Stephens was a
 † p. 18, 26, meer * Printer; Mill an ignorant † Blunderer; and for Cardinal
 33- Ximenes's Purſe, * what's that to our Maſter? Four Millions
 * p. 15. of Crowns would not buy the MSS. that he has collated for his
 Edition.

And as for the Manuscripts themſelves, which they made
 † p. 12. uſe of, he tells us, the plain Fact; † that older and better are
 * p. 13. now to be had, than former Editors could come at; that in thoſe
 Days, * when no better were ſeen, they gave the Titles of Anci-
 * p. 33, 34. ent and Venerable to ſuch as are now ſcarce reckon'd in the ſecond
 ſuch ſcrubb MSS. ſuch ſcoundril Copies, as our Maſter would ſcorn
 even to look into; and that therefore upon the whole, conſider-
 ing the great Abilities and Advantages he is poſſeſſed of, above
 † p. 11. all who went before him; we muſt be forced to own that † he
 has expreſſed himſelf in the modeſteſt, tendereſt, and moſt inno-
 cent Words in the World, without the ſmalleſt Reproach or Re-
 flection upon the prior Editors.

This is the Sum and Subſtance of our Maſter's Apology,
 and the Reader will excuſe me, I dare ſay, from giving him
 or my ſelf the Trouble of a ſerious Answer to it, or of ad-
 ding any thing more to what I have ſaid ſo fully on this Oc-
 caſion in my Remarks; however, ſince he inſiſts ſtill upon his
 Privilege, of trampling at pleaſure upon the great and learned
 Men of all Ages, he muſt excuſe me, if I examine likewise,
 with no ſmall Freedom, what Right and Title he has to aſſume
 ſuch a Power to himſelf, and what Truth and Reality there is
 in this Pretence of his to ſuch ſuperior Talents and Materials:
 But becauſe the Conſideration of his Talents may fall more pro-
 perly under our Notice in ſome other Parts of theſe Remarks,

I ſhall

I shall at present onely enquire into the *true state of his Materials*, his *older and better Manuscripts*, which he makes such a Noise about.

The first Account I have met with of *his Manuscripts* is in a *printed Letter of his*, upon the Subject of his Edition, dated *Trin. Coll. Jan. 1. 1716-17*, where we are informed by him, that he *makes use of no Manuscripts, but those of a thousand Years old, or above; of which sort he had got at that Time twenty together in his Study, which made up, one with another, twenty thousand Years* [a].

Now before we go any farther, if he will but condescend to prove the Truth of this *single Fact*, and make it fairly appear to the World, that he ever was in Possession of *such a Number of Manuscripts at once*, and of *such Antiquity* as is here pretended, I promise to give up the Cause, and to own him as *accomplished an Editor as he pleases*: but I have seen so much of the History and present State of the *Manuscripts of the New Testament*, as to know it to be impossible for *any Man or any Library* to shew *so great a Number of such old ones*, at any one time in their Possession.

Mr. Martin of Utrecht, [b] speaking upon the Subject of this very Letter, says, that *our Editor is not a little indebted to his good Fortune for having found twenty Manuscripts well told, which are of a thousand Years ago, or above; it being one of the most extraordinary Discoveries in this kind of Literature, that has been made in our Days*. And in another Place, *The Point will be*, says he, *whether these Manuscripts lately discovered be really as old as Dr. Bentley takes them to be; for we are not ignorant how difficult it is, not to say impossible, to pass always in these Cases a certain Judgment and secure from all Doubt*.

Monsieur Simon in his *Critical History of the New Testament* [c] gives us a pleasant Account of *just such an Editor as this of*

[a] *Vid.* Two Letters to Dr. Bentley, *tion in English*, p. 13. & p. 16.
and the Doctor's Answer, *Lond.* 1717.

[c] *Tom.* 1. p. 346.

[b] *Martin's Defence of his Disserta-*

ours, Father Amelote; who, in the *Preface* of his *French Translation of the New Testament*, informs the World, that he made an *exact Search* for all the *Manuscripts of Christendom*, of above a thousand Years old, and had procured *Collations* of them all; that he had got above twenty out of France; all those of the Vatican, and the famous Libraries of Italy; sixteen from Spain, without reckoning those of Cardinal Ximenes; all those of England and the Northern Countries; many from the heart of Greece; with those that the *Ancient Fathers* made use of.

One would imagine, says Monsieur Simon, upon reading this *Passage*, that this Father had at this Time in his Hands all the *Copies* he speaks of, or at least the *Collations* of them; yet all this long *Discourse*, says he, is but a mere flourish of Rhetorick, [b] to raise and ennoble the Subject he is treating of; for being advised by a Friend (who shewed him at the same time all his various Readings in Print) to leave out of his *Preface*, this strange Rant about his *Manuscripts*, he made no other Answer, than that the Argument he was handling, made it necessary for him to express himself, after a noble sublime manner, to make the stronger Impression upon the Minds of his Readers.

And having Occasion to mention this same Editor again in another Place, [c] he tells us, that the great Number of *Manuscripts* of twelve and thirteen hundred Years, which he pretended to have collected, existed onely in his Imagination; and that he could not be sincere, because he had not produced one single various Reading, which had not been known and printed before in other Editions.

The Case is just the same with our English Amelote, for

[a] Mais tout ce long Discours n'est qu'une figure de Rhetorique, dont il se sert pour, &c. Il ne fit point d'autre reponse la dessus a son Confrere, qui luy montra en meme tems ces diverses leçons imprimees, si non que la matiere, dont il parloit, demandoit qu'il s'explicat d'une maniere noble, pour faire plus d'impression

dans l'esprit, &c. *ibid.*

[b] Tom. 2. p. 370. Ce grand nombre de MSS. qu'il assure avoir douze & treize cens ans, n'ont etè que dans son imagination.

Il ne nous a donne aucunes diversités de leçon, qui ne fussent déjà imprimees *ibid.*

when we come a little closer to him, *the twenty old Manuscripts*, which he has just before given us an Account of, *shrink at once * into eight*; and follow him still a little farther, and he * p. 13. is forced again to own, that even of *these eight*, there are *only four*, which † had not been collated and made use of by † p. 14. Dr. Mill.

And now we are come to a full Discovery of the whole Strength of our Editor, *viz. four Manuscripts*; these are *all the Forces* he is Master of, to maintain *the War* he has declared against all *former Editors*; with *these four* it is, that he has promised to work such Wonders; to produce the *very Testament read at the Council [a] of Nice*, and even to go a Century higher and *retrieve the very Exemplar of Origen*.

The whole Number of *Greek Manuscripts of the Old and New Testament*, now known in *Europe*, amounts, as 'tis supposed, [b] to about *four hundred*; and there's hardly *one* amongst them all, which has not been collated and made use of in some or other of our *printed Editions*; and yet by our *Master's blustering* one would imagine the Case to be *just the Reverse* between *him* and the *former Editors*; and that *all of them* together had never seen *more than his four*; whilst *he* was in Possession of *their four hundred*.

Dr. Kuster by a very diligent Search found out *twelve Manuscripts*, which had escaped Dr. Mill's Enquiry; and tho' he was willing enough to make *the best Penny* he could of them, yet all he could do, was to publish again Dr. Mill's *Testament in Holland*, with the *Additional Readings* he had gather'd; and he thought, I dare say, that he had disposed of them to good Advantage.

But our Editor, with no more than his *four Copies*, will be content with nothing less than a *new Original Edition of his own*, and such an one too, as is to make all others whatsoever *useless and contemptible*; he ought however, methinks, to oblige

[a] Vid. the two printed Letters, &c. [b] Vid. Le Long. Bibliotheca sacra. Paris. bis

* p. 34.

† p. 42.

*his Subscribers with a more particular and satisfactory Account of the four Manuscripts he pretends to; whether, tho' never used by Dr. Mill, they were not still collated by Dr. Kuster; whether any one of them, or all together, make out the whole New Testament: 'Tis a great Rarity to find any one of Value which contains above a Part of it, and our Editor tells us himself, * that there are very few good ones, nay not so much as one of any † Antiquity, besides the Alexandrine, which comprehends the whole; so that whenever he thinks fit to answer these Queries, his little Stock will probably once more be reduced to half, nay, he will be left, I am almost confident, with nothing more than some piece onely of the New Testament in Manuscript.*

But *his Copies*, I know, are like the *Sybil's Books*, while we lessen their Number, we still enhance their Value; and if we leave him but *one*, he will soon make it as valuable as all the rest; leave him, I say, but *one*, to set his Foot upon, and like another Archimedes, he will shake the Christian World.

And thus we have seen a fair Account and true History of *his Manuscripts*; how from *twenty*, they dwindled to *eight*; from *eight* to *four*; from *four* to——And is not this *Father Amelote* all over? And must not Envy it self confess, that *our Editor's Imagination* is full as lively; his *Rhetorick* as strong, as that of his Reverend Brother?

* p. 41. 14.

But he thinks it, we find, wondrous hard, that *Dr. Mill should so oft be cast in his Teeth* *, and that he should be charged with reflecting upon a Person whom he had not so much as named in his Proposals: What just and critical Reasoning is this? He has not abused *Dr. Mill in his Proposals*, nor *Dr. Colbatch*, I warrant ye, in *this his Defence* of them, because he has not mentioned so much as the Name of either. But is not the *Doctor's Edition* included in the general Censure, he has passed upon all, without Exception or Reserve? Nay, is it not particularly levelled at and described, by that; which gives such Offence to good † Persons, that, whose Pages are crowded with

† par. 3.

such Numbers of various Readings? However, he is very confident, that there can be no *Comparison* between the *Doctor's Work* and *his*, they being *different* toto genere from each other *, * p. 14. the Doctor's Ambition reached no higher than to give the *Text of Printer Stephens*; but he resolves to present the World with *that of the famous Origen*; the Doctor's View was no more than to provide a *Promptuary for the Judicious*; but it is he who must apply this Promptuary to Use and Practice. Thus the *one* is but a *mere Collater*; the *other the Critic*; the *one* furnishes *Tools*, but the *other* must find the *Use* of them.

But we need not wonder at his taking so much Liberty with the *Dead*, when 'tis common with him to make full as free with the *Living*; even Sir *Isaac Newton* himself; whose great and admirable Discoveries in *Mathematicks* and *Natural Philosophy* were, according to him, but *useless, empty Speculations*, of no Benefit or Service to Mankind, till he was pleased, as he has told us in Print [a] to *discover to the World the unknown Use of them*, and to apply them, as he designs to do with Dr. *Mill's Promptuary*, to the silencing of *Atheists*.

We have brought him, however, to speak, with somewhat more *Modesty* than before, of his *intended Edition*; for he condescends † to own, that he will do Dr. *Mill* the Honour to make use of *his Collection*; and because his main Objection to the *Doctor's Edition* seems now to be chiefly from the *Form* and *Manner* of it, from the *Management* and *Disposition of the Materials*, I shall endeavour to set the Matter in such a Light, as will make it easie for the Reader to determine the Controversy; in order to which I shall desire him to answer me two or three plain Questions.

Whether all the *various Readings* of the *New Testament* are not rather *curious* and *nice* Observations, than Discoveries of any *real Service to Christianity*; and useful rather to the *Learned*, than the *Christian Reader*? Whether all of them together

[a] Vid. Dr. Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely;

affect or alter in any Manner any *Article of Faith*, or even *Moral Precept*? Whether in *Stephens's Edition* we have not the *full and adequate* Sense of the *sacred Text* in all Points even of the *least Importance*? Whether a correct and just Translation of *that Edition* would not be sufficient for the People to all *Intents and Purposes of Religion*?

If *these Queries* be answered in the *Affirmative*, as I am certain they must, and as *he himself has already done*; I shall take the Liberty to assert and maintain that *Dr. Mill's Edition* (as it exhibits *Stephens's Text*, with all the known *various Readings* under it) is for the very *Form and Manner* of it more *usefully and judiciously* contrived for the Service of the *Learned* or even *Christian World*, than any other which *our Editor* can pretend to give us.

Is it not the same thing to the Reader, considered as a *Scholar*, whether he finds the *true Readings* with *their Authorities* at the *Top* or *Bottom* of the Page? inserted in the *Text*, or placed in the *Margin*? Cannot he assert and apply them with the same Force in all *Critical Controversies*? Is not *the Text* made as *clear and certain* by them, in the one way as the other?

Dr. Mill believed, that [a] he had mended *Stephens's Text* in *two thousand* Places; he believed likewise, that he had *retrieved most of the true Readings of the Old Vulgate*, with the *very Greek from whence they were taken*; yet he never imagined, that his *Emendations* would lose any of their *Force or Merit* by being placed with his Notes at the *Bottom of the Page*: He knew, that however *probable any Readings* might appear to him, they were not however *demonstrable*, and what *one Man* might look upon to be *Genuine*, another would still argue to be *Spurious*; and that the making so *many Alterations in the Text* would give *Offence* to many, do *Service* to none, any occasion onely *perpetual Disputes* about Trifles.

[a] *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. it. vid. p. 41.*

Thus for instance, if Dr. Mill had inserted his two thousand *Alterations* into the *Text*, we shall find presently that our *Editor* was actually prepared and resolved to have *fetch'd them down* * again, and restored them to the *Place* from whence * P. 33. they were taken; and what would have been the Consequence? Why, *his own Emendations*, when advanced in their stead, would have found no better Fate; for as little as I pretend to *Criticism*, I would undertake to *throw out* a great Part of them my self, as we shall see by and by, when we come to *his Specimen*; and thus after much Squabble and Wrangling, we should find our selves at last just where we first set out, settling again perhaps in the old *Text of Stephens*.

But Dr. Mill, he tells us, † *follows this same Text of* † P. 14. *Stephens to a Letter, even where he decides against it; what, decide for and against it at the same time?* This, he thought, must needs make the Reader exclaim at the *Doctor's great Stupidity*; and yet the Case is no more than this: The *Doctor's Design* in his Edition was to exhibit *Stephens's very Text* most punctually, without *any the least* Variation from it; to this he subjoins all the *various Readings*, with some *Critical Notes* occasionally giving us his Judgment upon the *said Text*. In many Places, it seems, he *decides* against it; but how then does he *follow it at the same time*? Or how is it possible to do *both* in the same instance? So that this *Jumble of Words*, designed as a Reflection on the Doctor, proves to be a meer *Piece of Jargon*, and *Nonsense* of our *Editor's* own.

I am far from believing Dr. Mill to have been infallible, or *his Edition* without *Faults*; being persuaded, that no Man in the World ever yet executed a Design *so laborious and extensive* without committing *many*; but as they bear no Proportion to the *just Merit* of his Performance, they may and ought to be forgiven. If the Doctor indeed, in his large *Prolegomena*, had given as many *solid Proofs of Ignorance*, as our *Editor* in the *Half-sheet of his Proposals*; or if, in any *whole Book of the New Testament*, he had made as many *Blunders*, and suf-

ferred as much *Incorrec̄tness*, as our Editor has in the *single Chapter* of his *Specimen*, I am satisfied, that Men of Letters would never have endured *his Edition*.

Since I have had Occasion to say so much here of Dr. Mill, it may be proper to bring together, under *one View*, whatever relates to him in the present Controversy; and to take notice once for all of the *scarrilous* and *inhuman* Treatment which our Editor has thought fit to shew to his *worthy deceased Friend*.

He had formerly much *courted* and *caressed* this Gentleman, and for the *Credit* of his *Friendship* and his *Countenance*, had paid him very *extraordinary Complements* in his *Life-time*: In a printed Letter to him, he says, [a] *That he was the most experienc'd of all Men living in the Knowledge and Study of Manuscripts; that in collecting Materials for his Edition, he had nicely and curiously examined all the Writings of the Fathers, all the ancient Versions, and an infinite Number of Manuscripts; that his Edition would be an Ornament to his Country, and a Safe-guard to the Church; and that whoever purchased it might fancy himself in a manner turning over and reading the very Originals; nay, since his Death, before he had any particular Interest in undervaluing him, he has done him the Justice to speak of him in much the same strain, and declared [b] that his Friendship and Memory would ever be dear to him.*

Yet now there is hardly a Paragraph in this Book of his, without some *spiteful, severe Reflection* upon his *Merit* and *Character*; but in his *thirty-third Page* he labours more especially to overthrow *all his Credit*, with *three* particular Instances of his great *Weakness* and *want of Judgment*.

[a] Tu vero, Milli doctissime, qui omnium mortalium maxime in eo studio versatus es.

Quippè etenim ad eam copiam comparandum omnia S. Patrum scripta, omnes antiquas versiones, & infinitam vim Codd. MSS. curiose excussisti. Ea res Britannicæ nostræ splendori erit & Ecclesiæ præsidio.

Adeo ut qui tuam Editionem sibi comparaverit, ipsa illa propemodum Archetypa versare manibus, atque oculis usurpare videatur. Vid. Jo. Malalæ Hist. per Jo. Millium, una cum Epist. Rich. Bentleii.

[b] Remarks on Freethink. part 1. p. 61.

The first is from *the Use he makes of scrub Manuscripts and scoundril Copies*; for having described a Manuscript, says he, to be, not Vellum, but Paper, and of a recent Hand, yet this worthy one has eleven of his true Readings; and so he deals with the rest.

But let us here ask our Editor, whether all Criticks are not agreed, that recent Manuscripts are not to be neglected in a Work of this Nature, and that they may sometimes afford probable or genuine Readings which have not been met with before, as well as give farther Light and Confirmation to those that have. This he himself has declared to be true in Fact as to the Manuscripts of Terence; the oldest and best Copy of him, says he, [a] is now in the Vatican Library, which comes nearest to the Poet's own Hand, but even that has hundreds of Errors, most of which may be mended out of other Exemplars, which are otherwise more recent, and of inferior Value.

It is very possible, and certainly true in some Instances, that Manuscripts of Modern Date may have been copied from others very ancient and correct, which have afterwards been lost; the Doctor's Design led him to examine all the Manuscripts he could come at, both Old and New, he gave their due Weight and Preference to the older and better, and has in Fact collected the Readings of all the most ancient and valuable ones then known in the World. How silly is then the Objection, that out of two thousand Readings, which he preferred to the common ones, he has pick'd eleven out of a recent Manuscript? It can deserve onely to be laughed at, and discovers much more the Malice of our Editor, than any Ignorance in the Doctor.

The other two Instances of the Doctor's want of Judgment I shall give likewise in his own Words: He has, says he, * two * P. 33, 34. Characteristics to judge by (as any one that will peruse his Prolegomena will see) Omissions and Solecisms. If a Word or Words are omitted in any Copies, out they must go, as Interpolations;

[a] Ibid. p. 64.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

these make fifteen hundred at least out of his two thousand. And what is very extraordinary, the more Significancy, the more Importance the omitted Words have, the more confident he is, that they are spurious and interpolated; and for this specious Reason, Quis sanus tam insigne verbum omiserit, præterierit, expunxerit? What Copyist in his Wits would leave out so considerable a Word, if he found it in the Exemplar that he transcribed? One may say, Quis sanus could argue at this Rate? Is a Word so conducing to the Clearness, Grace, and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doctor often allows) and confirm'd by the oldest Copies and Versions to be cast out of the Text, because one drunken or drowsy Stationer's Boy happened to omit it? God forbid; and yet this is his perpetual Manner. The other is Solecism, which decides the Remainder of his Genuine Readings: If in a few, or in one Manuscript, there's a Reading that makes an ἀνακόλουτον, an Absurdity, a Barbarism, he seldom fails to warrant it for true. In short, in his Scheme, whatever appears bright and elegant, (if one Copy does but fail in it) is an Emendation of some Copyist: whatever appears impolite, idiotic, absurd, (if the most scoundril Copy countenances it) is manus Apostoli.

This is the Charge which he has brought against Dr. Mill; and if we allow for the Extravagance, the Partiality and the false Colours with which it is drawn, every Body will easily see, that the Doctor is much in the right, and that his Notions, tho' capable of being strained and carried too far, are in general just and true; and these very Rules, tho' like all others, not without Exception, are certainly good and proper to be observed by an Editor of the New Testament.

Let us consider then the first of these Characteristics; and since our Editor has not thought fit to try the Merit of it by any particular Instances or Examples of false Readings, which have been put upon us by it, we can onely consider it abstractedly and in general, without taking in the Circumstances of older or better Manuscripts on one side or the other. Suppose then that some Copies exhibit a Word of great Significancy, to

clear and determine the Sense of a Passage, otherwise *dark* and *obscure*; and that *other Copies* are still found to be without *this Word*; the Question is, how we are to determine the *genuine Reading*; Dr. Mill says, that the *Word* is *spurious*, and does not belong to the *Text*; our Editor affirms the contrary, and reasons thus; *Is a Word so conducing to the Clearness, Grace and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doctor often allows) to be cast out of the Text, because a drunken, drowsy Stationer's Boy happen'd to omit it? God forbid.*

But will not this Reasoning serve to defend almost *all Interpolations* whatsoever? And yet is it not allowed, that there are a great many of them in the Scriptures, and that they are much more numerous than the *Omissions*? Our Editor says, that in the *Chapter* of his *Specimen*, he has made *fifty-two Emendations*; that is, he has taken *fifty-two various Readings* from the Bottom of Dr. Mill's *Page*, and removed them into the *Text*; yet of these *fifty-two Alterations*, a great Part are made according to *this very Rule of Omissions*, several of them supported by the Authority onely of a *single Manuscript*; for Example, Καθαρόν ποταμὲν, ver. 1.] omittunt καθαρὸν, Alex. Codd. Anglici duo Gallici tres, &c. Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Αλφα, ver. 13.] omittunt εἰμι, Alex. Athanasius Codd. fere omnes; Andreas, Arcthas. Sed Origines habet εἰμι bis. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ver. 21.] omittit Alex. And again in the same Verse, Μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν] omittit ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν Alex. He has already, we know, determined against the *Genuineness* of the famous passage of St. John 1 Epist. v. 7. a Reading, by far the most important of all the *thirty thousand*; supported by good Authorities, and consonant and agreeable to the *Doctrine of the Apostle*: For what Reason then has he condemned it as *spurious*? Why because *some Manuscripts and some Fathers* have omitted it. And this sure is carrying the *Rule of Omissions* much farther than Dr. Mill himself, tho' it was, he tells us, *his peculiar Foible*: For the *Doctor* happens here to be on the other side of the Question, and in this Instance has declared, even against his favourite Rule, for the common Reading of our printed Copies. And

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

And now will not *his own Argument* turn much more forcibly against himself? *Are Words so significant, so important, so conducing to the Clearness and Beauty of the Sentence to be cast out of the Text, because a drunken or drowsy Stationer's Boy happened to omit them? God forbid; and yet this is his perpetual Manner.*

• But let us now hear a little on the other hand, what the *Doctor* has to alledge in defence of his Rule. Why he says, that it is more probable, that a *Transcriber* would chuse rather to clear up an *obscure Passage*, by the Insertion of an *explanatory, significant Word*, than to darken and confound a clear one, by omitting or expunging such a Word; and he would defend himself by shewing, that it is in the *perplexed and dubious Passages of Scripture*, that *Interpolations* are generally found; that *most Interpolations of the Text* were derived originally from the *Margin*, where it was usual to place *Words or Sentences of plain and obvious Sense*, to explain such as were more difficult in the *Text*; that these by degrees crept into the *Text itself*; the *Transcribers* thinking they did no harm, by making it more intelligible; and that this was the common Practice of the Copyers of *St. Jerom's Days*, who says, [a] *that they were used to write, not what they found, but what they understood*; and that this is not *meer Conjecture or Speculation*, but what all, who are conversant in *Manuscripts*, will find confirmed and demonstrated by *Fact and Experiment*; and this I take to be a sufficient Justification in general of *Dr. Mill's first Rule of Criticism*, viz. *that of Omissions*.

Let us now proceed to examine the *second*; which our *Editor* calls *that of Solecism*; and here he thinks he has done the *Doctor's Business*; has painted him to the Life, and has said enough to make him justly odious to all good *Christians*. What is the *Style of Scripture so base, vulgar, idiotic, so full of Bar-*

[a] *Librariorumque incuriæ, qui scribunt non quod inveniunt, sed quod intelligunt; & dum alienos errores emendare*

nitantur, offendunt suos, Hier. ad Lucin. Tom. 4. p. 578.

barisms, Solecisms, and Absurdities, as Dr. Mill pretends? God forbid. Nothing sure but what is *bright, elegant and polite*, could come from the Hand of an Apostle. Here we see *two contrary* Judgments passed upon the *Stile and Language of the sacred Penmen*, by Dr. Mill, and our Editor; and the Reader by determining which of them is the *true one*, may in some Measure decide at the same time the *main Point* in Question, about our Editor's Talents for the Work he has undertaken, and how far he is qualified to give us an *Edition of the New Testament*.

St. Paul tells us, *that he was sent by Christ to preach the Gospel*, [a] *not with Wisdom of Words; nor with Excellency of Speech; nor with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*: And lest our Editor should say, that these disabling Expressions are but *Strains of Humility*, usual with and becoming the Apostle; his Friend St. Jerom has told us [b] quite the contrary; *that it was not any Humility in St. Paul, but a Conscientiousness of the Truth, which drew from him these Declarations*; and he shews [c] *it to have been with the Apostles, in this Case, just as with all other Men, and that they discover in their Writings the Idioms and Phrases peculiar to their native Country and Language*: He warns us often, [d] *not to be offended at the Simplicity or Lowness of the Scripture-Stile*; for he tells us, [e] *that the want of Elegance in the Words of the sacred Writers was sufficiently made up by the forcible Eloquence of their Sanctity, and the Loftiness of their Thoughts and Sentiments*.

The *Ancient Greek Fathers*, who are certainly the best Judges of the *Greek Stile* of the Scriptures, are intirely of the same Opinion. The first *Christian Critick* Origen makes no

[a] 1 Cor. i. 17. ii. 1, 4.

[b] Nequaquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientiae veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus. Hier. ad Algas.

[c] Multa sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis & provinciae suae familiarius Apostolus utitur—Nec hoc miremur in Apostolo, si utatur ejus linguae consue-

dine, in qua natus est & nutritus. Ibid.

[d] Nolo offendaris in scripturis sanctis simplicitate & quasi vilitate verborum, &c. Hier. Epist. 2 ad Paulum.

[e] Loquendi simplicitatem excusabat sanctimoniae magnitudo.. Hier. ad Pamm. de opt.

Scruple to declare his Judgment on this Occasion with as much Freedom, and in much the same Terms with Dr. Mill himself. The *Disciples of Christ*, says he, [a] renounced all artful Composition of Words, and what the Scripture calls the *Wisdom of Men*: And Divine Providence accommodated [b] the Language of Scripture, not to the Learned among the Greeks, but to the *Idiotism of the Multitude*. And again, [c] the *Apostles*, being conscious of their Imperfection this Way, called themselves *Idiots in Speech*, but not in Knowledge.

St. Chrysostom still goes farther, and speaks more freely upon this Subject; When the Greeks, says he, [d] accuse the *Disciples* (as Idiots) that is, illiterate, let us join with them, and accuse them on this account more freely even than they; and he laughs at the [e] Simplicity of a zealous Christian, who, in a Dispute with a Greek, laboured to prove St. Paul to be more eloquent than Plato; and lest we should make our selves ridiculous in such Disputes, he bids us [f] freely own the *Apostles* to be ignorant and unlearned, such an Accusation being not any Reflection upon them, but their Praise and Glory.

After these Authorities, I need not trouble myself with producing any Opinions of the *Moderns*; but whenever our Editor thinks fit to dispute this Point more fully or particularly, I will undertake to defend the Judgment of these Fathers and Dr. Mill by undeniable Instances, and shew the *Stile of Scripture* to be so little agreeable to the *Purity of the Greek Lan-*

[a] Οἱ τῷ Ἰησοῦ μαθηταὶ οἱ μακρὰν χαιρεῖν εἰπόντες τῇ ποιικίᾳ τῶν λέξεων συντίσει καὶ τῇ ὡς ὠνόμασεν ἡ γραφή, σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων. Orig. contr. Cels.

[b] Οὕτως ἡ προνοημένη θεία φύσις ἡ τῶν πεπαιδευθῆναι νομιζομένων μόνον τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑλλήνων, συγκατέβη τῇ ἰδιωτείᾳ τῷ πλήθει. Ibid.

[c] Οὐκ ἀτυχεύοντες οἱ ἀπώγαλοι τυγχάνουσι τῶν ἐν οἷς προσκόπῃσι, φασὶν ἰδιῶται εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἢ τῇ γνώσει. Orig. Philoc. c. 4.

[d] Ὅταν οὖν Ἕλληνες κατηγορήσῃσι τῶν μαθητῶν ὡς ἰδιωτῶν, πλείον ἡμεῖς ἐκείνων κατηγοροῦμεν αὐτῶν. Chrys. Hom. 3. in 1 Cor. 1.

[e] περὶ Παύλου καὶ Πλάτωνος ζητήσεως ἔστι, ὅδε χριστιανὸς ὡς ἀφιλείας ἐσπύδαζε κατὰ σκευάζειν ὅτι Πλάτωνος λογιώτερος ἢ ὁ Παῦλος. Ibid.

[f] Ἴν' οὐ μὴ καταγελάμεθα, κατηγοροῦμεν ἀποστόλων ὡς ἀμαθῶν, ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία αὐτῇ ἐγκώμιον. Ibid.

guage, that whenever the *Doct̃or's* *Solecisms*, *Hebraisms*, or *Idiotic Phrases* stand in Competition for a Place in the *Text*, with our *Editor's* *bright*, *elegant*, *polite Expressions*; every judicious *Reader* will think it wisest and safest to agree with the *Doct̃or*, in giving a general Preference to the *former*.

After all this *Scurrility* and *Contempt* thrown out so plentifully upon the *Doct̃or*, he comes off very calmly and smoothly at last, by charging *me* with being the Occasion of it; declaring, * that *I made it necessary for him, against his own Inclination, to deal so freely with the Doct̃or*, which is such a *Reflection* upon me, as I cannot help clearing my self of, before I dismiss this Subject. * p. 34.

I have always had a very great Honour and Respect for Dr. *Mill's* *Memory*, and was so far from designing to force our *Editor* to use him ill, that I was taking all the Pains I could, to make it *necessary* for him to commend him. I put him in mind of the *old Friendship and Intimacy* that had been *between them*; and did not this make it *necessary* to commend him when dead, whom he had professed *such a Love and Value* for when living? I shewed how much he must needs be obliged to him in the *Work*, he had undertaken; and did not this make it *necessary* to own the Obligation, and commend his *Benefactor*? I shew'd the *Doct̃or* to be a most *industrious, learned and judicious Editor of the New Testament*; and did not this make it *necessary* for a *Scholar, a Christian, a Clergyman* to commend him? How then could I make it *necessary* to treat him *scurrilously* in any other possible Sense, than as it is *necessary* for an *envious Critick* to rail at all who are commended; for a *proud Man* to insult those whom he is most obliged to; for a *Mercenary Writer* to undervalue every thing, that stands in the Way of his *Gain and his Interest*?

Paragraph the Second.

The Author, revolving in his Mind some Passages of St. Hierom; where he declares, that (without making a New Version) be adjusted and reform'd the whole Latin Vulgate to the best

Greek Exemplars, *that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another Passage, where he says, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, Except in the Holy Scriptures, Ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est, Where the very Order of the Words is a Mystery; took thence the Hint, that if the Oldest Copies of the Original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examin'd and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Essay; he has succeeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.*

REMARKS.

- In my *Remarks on this Paragraph*, I had observed, that of the *two Passages* produced here from St. Jerom, as the *Reason and Foundation* of this intended *Edition*, the *first* was not to be found in any Part of *that Father's Writings*, in *direct and express* Terms, and that the *second* had been *altered and misrepresented* by our Editor, to make it *more applicable and full* to his Purpose. In Answer to my *first Observation*, he has by a Number of *Citations*, and a *Dissertation* upon the Word *Evangelia*, † (proving what every body knew before) shewn at last that he did not at all apprehend the *Question* I proposed to him. I said that St. Jerom had not in any *one single Passage*, as he would make us believe, asserted, that he reformed the *whole Latin Vulgate*: and now how does he shew the contrary? Why, by labouring to prove, *consequentially* and by Inference from *scattered Passages*, what I denied onely to be found *directly in any single one*; and yet all that he has collected amounts to no more than what I have already owned; that St. Jerom reformed * the *Latin Vulgate of the New Testament*; but there was likewise a *Vulgate Translation of the Old Testament* as well as the *New*, and the *whole Latin Vulgate*, which he talks of, must needs be understood to comprehend *them both*. He might therefore full as well have been contented with my *having allowed* him, as he says, * all that he wanted or expected;

ed; rather than to have usher'd in the most *important* Argument of the Controversy, with an Introduction so little to the purpose; but he will not, it seems, accept any Concession from so *silly an Adversary*; for when I thought to have pleas'd him, by owning, that St. *Jerom* had reformed the *Vulgate Latin* according to the *best Greek Copies* of his Time; he proves, that they were not the *best Copies of his Time*, † but *old ones*, and consequently before his Time; as if the *best* at any time were not always the *oldest* then known; this, to use a *Phrase of his own*, is such *capital, transcendent Reasoning*, as I must own my self at a loss how to answer.

But he will needs force me into a Conspiracy with Dr. *Mill* in order to abuse * *poor St. Jerom*, because I have said of him, * *that he made no very great Alteration in his Reform of the Vulgate*; and yet I said no more than what I proved from *his own Words*. But if this be a Reflection, what will he say to me, if I undertake to shew, that of *the Alterations*, which he actually made, *some* might much better have been spared; the *old Translation* being *juster and truer* in several Places than his *Corrections*?

But after all this Noise about the *old Vulgate*, or, as many have called it, *the Italic Version*; the World, it seems, is yet entirely in the dark about it; for when *our Master's Edition* comes out, it will shew that there *never was any such Version in Being*, as the * *Learned*, and Dr. *Mill especially*, have so * *long been blundering about*; and that the Notion was *falsly ground* upon an † *abused and mistaken Passage of St. Austin*; † which our Editor will set in a *true and new Light*: But we must not expect so great a Discovery in haste; for till he has made all the Use he can of St. *Jerom's reforming the old Vulgate*, it will hardly be worth while to prove that there never was *any old Vulgate at all*; but for all the *new and true Light* he has got in this Matter, I will promise to shew whenever he calls upon me, that among those *innumerable Versions*, he speaks of, which * *appeared in the Western World, before* * *St.*

St. Jerom's Time, there was however a *particular and principal one*, distinguished from the rest by *its Use and Credit in the Church*, under the Name of the *Old, the Common, the Vulgate*, or, as *he himself [a]* has called it, the *Italic*. He may now perhaps be out of humour *with some one* of these Names, and dispute, if he pleases, *about Words*, but I defie him to prove, that there was not such a *particular Version*, as I have here described.

† p. 18.

We are now come once more to the Examination of his *second Passage*, viz. *Ubi ipse verborum ordo Mysterium est*, on which he says, I have *sweated and laboured † so hard in my Remarks, for three whole Pages together*; but he gives me however the Pleasure of finding, that it was not *Labour in vain*; since my *three Pages* have cost him above *twice the Number* to contrive an *Answer* to them. My *first Remark* here was, that he had not *dealt fairly* either with *us or St. Jerom*, in his *Quotation* of this Sentence; which I found in the *Words of the Author* to be thus: *Ubi & verborum ordo & Mysterium est*. In a *Passage of such Moment*, on which so much Stress was laid, and so great a Design was built, the World had a Right to expect the *utmost Exactness of Citation*, and the *very Words of the Original*. There can be no other Reason for *misquoting any Author*, but either *too much Art*, or *too much Negligence*; either of which will make but a wretched Apology for an *Editor of the New Testament*; where *Diligence and Fidelity* are Qualifications of such absolute Necessity. A Critick who can allow himself in *such Emendations* as these may well despise an Adversary who * never made one in his Life; for he is sure enough to have an Advantage over him: But *as our Editor* has always been very notable at an Excuse, from the great Use and Exercise of his Invention that Way; he is pleased here to give us *two Reasons* for this Inaccuracy, viz. *great Haste and Candle-light †*. *The Proposals*, it seems, were drawn up in *such a Hurry*, and the Publication of them required *such Dispatch*, that he had not so much Time as even to consult his

* p. 19.

† Ibid.

[a] Rem. of Freethink. p. 81.

Books, or correct the Press; but being forced to trust his Memory for the Citation, chanced to make the little slip we complain of. But is it not strange, that after having been revolving and tumbling about in his Mind one poor Sentence for above four Years together, his Memory should happen to fail him just in the nick, when he came to the very Use and Application of what he had so long been thinking of? but is it not still stranger, that after having been writing and talking so long, with such Calmness and Deliberation on this Subject, he should be on a sudden in such a Hurry about it, as if no Time, but one critical Moment, could possibly serve for the printing his Proposals? He, good Man, was all on fire and impatient to do this publick Service to his Country, and had made a Vow perhaps never to close his Eyes till he had made some Progress in so pious a Design; but the World happens to know him too well, to be so easily imposed upon; if his Motives had been really such as he pretends, there could not have been any Occasion for an Excuse of this Kind: A true Reverence for Christianity, a Zeal for the Interests of Religion, would necessarily have forbid all haste; would not have suffered the least Hurry; would have obliged him to the utmost Caution, in a Work so serious and important. He here plainly discovers what I hinted at in my Remarks, that his Proposals were hastened out to serve quite different Ends, than those of common Christianity. It was necessary for his Circumstances, that some Noise should be made in the World in his Favour; something must needs be done to support a declining Character; something great and popular must, in Appearance at least, be undertaken, to recover Esteem and Applause to himself, and cast an Odium and Contempt upon his Prosecutors; and withal perhaps to demolish me the more effectually for having libelled a Person so highly deserving of the Publick; so greatly and usefully employed in the Service of Christendom.

As for his Candle-light; I am not subtle enough to find out what Use he can possibly make of it. Among the Greeks and
Romans

Romans it was so far from being an *Excuse* for the *Blunders*, or *Inaccuracy* of a *Composition*, that to *smell of the Lamp* or *Candle*, was their common *Phrase*, to express an *over-laboured*, *affected Correctness*; but our *Critick's Lucubrations* are the *Reverse*, we see, to those of all other *Authors*; and his *ill-fated Lamp*, like some *malignant Planet*, spreads *Drowziness*, *Oscitancy*, and *Stupour* around it.

Pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ, Juv.

The best Answer I can give him, is to return upon him *his own Words*, * *That no Scribler even out of the dark ever committed such Stuff to Paper.*

But this, he will say perhaps, was proposed chiefly as an *Excuse* for the *false Pointing*, *Accenting*, and other small *Mistakes* of his *Specimen*; and should we allow it, yet even this will not much mend the *Matter*; for *Blunders*, like *Sins*, are some of *Ignorance*, and some of *Omission*; and tho' *Haste* or *Candle-light* may in some Measure *excuse the latter*; yet both together cannot in any Manner apologize for the *former*; it is not for *Points* and *Accents* left out, or *little Omissions* in his *Notes*, that we complain of his *Specimen*; but that all the *Rules of Accents* are directly *violated* by a *contrary Application* of them; and there are such *Solecisms* and *Barbarisms of Stile*, as are offensive to every Reader; and these will appear just the same *what Light soever* we write or read them by; *Errors of Judgment* having no more Relation to *Candle-light*, than those of the *Memory*.

But should this serve even as an *Excuse* for the *first Edition* of his *Proposals*, yet how is it at all applicable to his *second*? Was this likewise drawn up in *such haste*, and prepared by *Candle-light*? Yet it was in all *Points* just the *very same* with the other, except in the *Change* of one of his *Emendations*, by restoring [*ἐπ' αὐτόν*] to the Text [v. 18.] which he had thrown out before, upon the Credit of a *single Manuscript*. In his *third Edition* indeed, upon the Notice I had taken of his *many Blunders*, he has thought fit to alter his *Stile*, and to
change

change the *many Barbarisms of his Notes*, into a Language more regular and intelligible, viz. instead of his *deest δὲ Alex. cæteri ferè omnes* : [v. 15.] *deest Articulus δ Alex. alii multi* : [ibid.] *deest ἡ Alex. Codd. ferè omnes* : *ordine ut Andreas* : [v. 13.] he has now put *omittunt Codices*, or *deest in Codicibus* ; and *ordine quo Andreas*.

But the Reader will think it high time for me to come to the *Point in Question*, an Examination of this *Passage of St. Jerom*. As for our *Editor's Emendation of it*, * (which I'll as- * p. 18. sure him was not new to me) it has no manner of Influence in the Dispute, since I allowed him, as he owns, even before I had seen it, all that he pretends to infer from it. The whole Sentence runs thus : *Sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, (absque scripturis sanctis, Ubi & verborum ordo & Mysterium est) non verbum è verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*. Our Editor from this *Passage* maintains, that *St. Jerom*, in reforming the *Vulgate of the New Testament*, confined himself strictly and religiously to the *Order of Words in the Greek*, believing it to be *mysterious*.

In a *printed Letter* [a] of his, which I have before-mentioned, he gives us this Account ; *About a Year ago*, says he, *reflecting upon some Passages of St. Jerom*, that he had adjusted and fastigated the then *Latin Vulgate*, to the best *Greek Exemplars*, and had kept the very *Order of the Words of the Original* ; I formed a *Thought a priori*, that if *St. Jerom's true Latin Exemplar* could be come at, it would be found to agree exactly with the *Greek Text of the same Age* ; and so the old *Copies of each Language*, if so agreeing, would give mutual *Proof*, and even *Demonstration to each other*. In this second *Paragraph of his Proposals*, he tells us much the same Story, that if the *Old Greek Copies and St. Jerom's Latin* were compared, they would be found to agree, not onely in *Words*, but in *Order of Words*. This again he now calls * a new and a noble Thought, which * p. 20.

[a] Vid. Two Letters to Dr. Bentley, with the Doctor's Answer.

† Ibid.

must of Necessity be true, because St. Jerom, he says, *durst not have used this Expression, if he had not kept close to the Order of Words in his own Edition of the Scriptures.* But when he came to make his *Essay*, † then it was, that he reaped most glorious Fruits of his Sagacity, and his Labour; the Success, he tells us, not onely exceeded his Expectation, but even his Hopes; nay, he was even amazed, surprized, and astonished; at what, do you think? why to find that the Learned Father had spoke true. But does not this shew what an Opinion he had of his *Thought a priori*, as well as of the good Father, when it was Matter of such Astonishment to him to find any truth in either of them? and yet after all, whenever he can shew that St. Jerom has affirmed the perpetual Order of Words in Scripture to be a Mystery; every Body else will see, that the Learned Father did not speak true.

* p. 23.

But how at last was the great Experiment made? and this Truth so clearly demonstrated? Why, the Matter of Fact, he says, * *verifies it; for there are four or five very old Manuscripts extant, with the Greek on one hand, and a Latin Version on the other; in all which, Line answers to Line, and Word to Word in Order.* These are Beza's Manuscripts at Cambridge, containing the Gospels and Acts; another in the Royal Library at Paris, which is reckoned generally the second Part of it, containing the Epistles of St. Paul; a third of the same Epistles, with the Benedictines of St. Germain; a fourth of the Acts now at Oxford. These with the Alexandrine are allowed by all to be the most ancient Manuscripts, now known in the World; nay, our Editor himself has told us, in his Letter already mentioned to Dr. Mill [b], that they vastly exceeded, both in Worth and Antiquity, all others whatsoever, in any Part of the World,

[b] Atque hæc quidem talia Exemplaria, cum aliis omnibus ubivis gentium, quod sciamus, longè longèque & dignitate & tempore antecedant, neque quidquam hodiè supersit simile aut secundum. Vid. Rich. Bentley Epist. ad Jo. Millium, ut supra.

and that there was nothing extant at this Day, either like or second to them; yet every one of these have been used and collated not onely by Dr. Mill, but by other Editors before him; tho' now it seems to serve a present Purpose; we are to be amused with an idle Story of much older and better Manuscripts to be come at than prior Editors were acquainted with. It must however without doubt give him much Comfort and Satisfaction to find these good old Copies tally so exactly together, and confirm his noble Thought so effectually; but I have an unlucky Secret to let the Reader into, which will soon put an End to his Raptures: For the Latin of these Manuscripts happens not to be that of St. Jerom, but that of the old Vulgate, as it stood before his Reformation of it, which continued still in the Use of the Church for two Centuries after he had made his Corrections.

And this is not onely the Opinion of Dr. Mill [a], which our Editor has in so much Contempt, but of all the best Judges, and particularly Monsieur Simon, who [b] has made it very clear and evident by undeniable Arguments.

Thus our Editor, we see, has been taking Pains to astonish himself to very little Purpose; for he might have proved his Point full as well from the Coptic, as the Latin of these very Manuscripts. If St. Jerom's Latin, says he, * could be come at,* par. 2: it would be found to agree minutely with the Greek; yet when he comes to the Proof, he makes the Experiment with Latin which was not St. Jerom's, nor ever at all touched by him.

But again, what Greek is this, that tallies so exactly with this old Latin of his? Why no other neither than that of these same Manuscripts; but the Learned likewise are agreed, that these were not taken from the good old Copies, by which St.

[a] Qualis incedebat ante Castigationem Hieronymi (nam & ex his extat hodie unum & alterum in Galliis, penes Monachos Benedictinos; hujusmodi est Beza Cantab. Claromont. & Actorum Apost. Eodl ut

alia mittam) &c. Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 41.

[b] Simon Hist. Critique de N. T. p. 253. v. 1.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

Jerom reformed the Vulgate; but were those very corrupt ones, which the Father so much complains of; and were transcribed originally by some of the Latin Church, who had but little Skill or Knowledge of the Greek.

Having thus shewn what little Reason he has to be proud of the Success of his Experiment, I shall now proceed to enquire into the Notion it self; and prove his new and noble Thought *a priori*, to be absurd, ill-grounded, and not at all adequate or useful to the Design he has built upon it: In order to which I have already observed that it is directly contrary to the whole Reasoning and Tenor of the Epistle, from whence it is taken; and that in all the other Places of St. Jerom's Writings, wherever this Epistle is referred to, or wherever he treats of the Manner of Translating; he shews his Opinion to be quite opposite to it, and that in his Versions of the Scripture, he followed the Sense with no strict Regard to the Words or Order of Words: so that upon the whole, I find it necessary to understand and explain the Passage in Dispute, in a qualified and limited Sense; as signifying nothing more, than that St. Jerom in translating Scripture, did not altogether take so much Liberty in departing from the Words, as in his Translations of other Greek Books, because he believed, that in a few particular Places of the Old Testament the Order of Words might possibly be mysterious.

This I will shew to be the true Sense and Meaning of St. Jerom, by the onely proper Method of coming at the Sense of any Passage, viz. by a nice Examination of the Context, as well as all the other Parts of his Writings, which touch upon the Subject. The Account I gave of this in my Remarks is as follows, viz. The whole Subject of this Epistle to Pammachius is the Defence of a Translation he had made (not verbally, but according to the Sense) of a Greek Letter sent from one Bishop to another; where besides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he shews, that the best Interpreters, even of Scripture, had no Regard in their Translations, to the Words, or Order of Words,
but

but to the Sense onely; which he proves by several Instances from the Septuagint, the Evangelists, the Apostles, the Vulgate Edition it self, and the Fathers.

But here our Editor stops me short, and tells me flatly, that I lie most impudently; † for having read, says he, that † p. 21. short Tract over, on purpose, I assure you there is not one Word in it of best Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers.

Quid ais, O Columen Literarum, & nostrorum temporum Aristarche? Hier.

Not one Word in it, say you, of best Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers? But if there be not the very Word, you will allow me, I hope, that there is the very thing; which is much more to my Purpose; and I shall not wonder at your catching so much at Words, where there is nothing else to lay hold of. As for the Vulgate Version [a], we find it twice said in express Terms, the Vulgate Edition has it so and so. This our Editor will say, is meant onely of the Septuagint, which St. Jerom calls here by that Name; tho' others will tell him that it is applicable, not to the Original, but to the common Latin Translation of it. But be this as it will; he makes mention likewise of the Latin Translators and our Translation, which certainly comes up to the thing.

And as for Fathers; after he has alledged the Practice of profane Authors in Defence of his Way of translating; when he comes to take notice of Ecclesiastical Writers or Fathers, he says thus [b]: The time would fail me if I should reckon up

[a] Vulgata quippè Editio ita se habet; hoc exemplum in vulgatâ Editione sic fertur.

[b] Dies me deficiet, si omnium, qui ad sensum interpretati sunt, testimonia replicavero; sufficit in præfati nominâsse Hilarium confessorem, qui Homilias in Job, & in Psalmos, tractatus plurimos in

Latium vertit è Græco, nec affedit literæ dormitanti; & putidâ rusticorum interpretatione se torfit; sed quasi captivos sensus in suam linguam victoris jure transposuit. Nec hoc mirum in cæteris sæculi videlicet aut Ecclesiæ viris, quum septuaginta Interpretes, & Evangelistæ atque Apostoli idem in sacris voluminibus fecerint.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

all who have interpreted according to the Sense; it is enough, for the present, to Name Hilary the Confessor, who, in the Homilies on Job, and the Treatises upon the Psalms, which he translated into Latin, did not sit nodding over the Letter, nor tormented himself with the nauseous Interpretation of the Rustic; but by the Right as it were of a Conqueror, carried the Sense away captive into his own Language; nor is this strange, continues he, in profane or ecclesiastical Writers, when the seventy Interpreters, the Evangelists and Apostles do the very same also in the Holy Scriptures. Here we see, that tho' the very Term, best Interpreters, be not mentioned, yet the Epistle is full of little else but Citations from such as all the Christian World must allow to be the best Interpreters that ever were; of which I shall now give a few, out of the many Instances here produced.

One of the first which St. Jerom takes notice of is from *Matt. xxix. 9.* where the Evangelist gives us the Citation of a dark Prophecy, fulfilled in our Saviour; and if the Order of Words were a Mystery, we might surely expect to find it observed here, in a Passage so mystical relating to the Sufferings of the Messiah; but instead of this, when St. Jerom has produced the Words of St. Matthew; this Passage, says he [a], is taken from Zachariah [xi. 12, 13.] But it is found there in Words and Order of Words intirely different: And after having produced the Words of the Septuagint, he says [b], It is very clear what a Difference there is between the Evangelist and the Septuagint; but if we go still to the Hebrew, though the Sense be the same, the Words are different, as well as the Order of them. And after having given his Translation likewise of the Hebrew, he concludes [c], Let them accuse the Apostle of Falshood, be-

[a] Hoc invenitur in Zachariah, sed aliis multo verbis, ac toto ordine discrepante.

[b] Quantum distet ab Evangelistæ testimonio Septuaginta Translatio, perspicuum est; sed & in Hebræo quum sensus idem sit, verba præpostera sunt & pene

diversa.

[c] Accusent Apostolum falsitatis, quod nec cum Hebræico, nec cum Septuaginta congruat Translatoribus; sed absit hoc de Pedissequo Christi dicere, cui curæ fuit non verba & syllabas aucupari, sed sententias dogmatum ponere.

cause

cause he agrees neither to the Hebrew, nor the Seventy; but far be it from us to say this of a Follower of Christ, whose Care it was, not to lie upon the Catch for Words and Syllables, but to give the true Sense and Meaning of Doctrines.

Another Instance is from St. John's Gospel [xix. 37.] of a Citation likewise of a Prophecy of our Saviour's suffering from Zachariah [xii. 10.] and after having produced the Words of St. John, the Septuagint, and Latin Translation, St. Jerom [a] says, *You see the Difference between the Translation of the Evangelist, the Septuagint, and our own; and yet for all this Disagreement in Words, they agree in Unity of Sense.*

Upon another Instance of the same Kind, of a Citation in Matthew [i. 22, 23.] taken from Isaiah [vii. 14.] You see, says he [b], *what a great Discord there is in Words and Order of Words between St. Matthew and the Septuagint; but you will have Occasion to wonder still more, if you consult the Hebrew.*

It would be too tedious to produce *all the Instances* he has brought from St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul to the same Purpose as these already taken notice of; and yet in *such Passages* as these, which are of the *greatest Importance*, and contain a *mystical Sense and Application to the Messiah*, we must needs have found, I say, if any where, the *Truth and Certainty of our Editor's Notion.*

St. Jerom concludes his Reasoning here by saying [c], *that it is evident by all the Instances above-cited, that the Evangelists and Apostles, in their Interpretation of the old Scriptures, regarded the Sense onely, and not the Words, and were not solicitous about the Words or Order of Words, if they could but make the Sense intelligible.*

[a] Discrepat Evangelista, Septuaginta Interpretum, nostraque Translatio & tamen Sermonum varietas spiritus Unitate concordat.

[b] Quanta sit inter Mattheum & Septuaginta verborum, ordinisq; discordia, sic magis admiraberis, si Hebraicum videas

[c] Ex quibus universis perspicuum est, Apostolos & Evangelistas in interpretatione veterum scripturarum, sensum quæsisse non verba; nec magnopere de ordine sermonibusque curasse, dum intellectui res pateret.

And now I would ask any Man of common Understanding, whether it is *conceivable* or *possible*, that St. Jerom could believe the *general Order of Words to be mysterious*, when he is labouring with so much Pains to shew, that the *Septuagint*, the *Evangelists*, and the *Apostles*, did not at all regard it; when he is writing an Apology for *them and himself*, for the *Neglect of it*; when he is *exposing his Adversaries for not allowing him to do in a private Epistle, what they must*, he says [a], *whether they will or no, allow the others to have done in the Holy Scriptures*. I may defy any Man alive to believe such an Absurdity, except our Editor and such Creatures of his, who can believe *any thing but their Master's Fallibility*.

This is an *exact* and *faithful* Account of the *Epistle to Pas-machius*; which I have been the more particular in, to shew the Truth of the *short Abstract* I had given of it in my *Remarks*; which our Editor here calls *dull and false*, and for that Reason undertakes to give a *more clear and honest one*; which he begins thus; * *St. Jerom had translated into Latin a complaining Letter of Epiphanius to Chrysostom, both his own Contemporaries, and was charged by some Friends to the latter, that he had not done Justice in his Version, nor translated the Words exactly, but warped them, as they thought, to Chrysostom's Prejudice*.

Could any Man who pretends to give a *true and exact* Relation of Fact, ever have set out so unhappily? For this *Letter of Epiphanius's* was not written to *Chrysostom*, as he tells us, so *formally and circumstantially*, but to *John Bishop of Jerusalem*; and the Blunder is the *more unlucky* for him, as it demonstrably discovers a very great Ignorance of *St. Jerom's Writings*; where the Controversy between *Epiphanius* and *Bishop John*, and the Part *this Father* acted in it, are so largely and frequently insisted on. There is among *St. Jerom's Epi-*

[a] Ut reprehenses meos arguam impetiam, & impetrem ab iis veniam, ut concedant mihi in simplici epistola, quod in

scripturis sanctis, velint nolint, Apostolis concessuri sunt. Epist. ad Panim

lies this very *Translation of Epiphanius's Letter*. *Jerom* sided with *Epiphanius*, and was *excommunicated by John*; and besides a frequent mention of the Case in *many of his Epistles*, he has left a very long *Treatise* in his Works, in which all the Errors of *this Bishop* are collected and exposed: yet *our Editor* a Man who pretends to such Familiarity with *St. Jerom*, and insults so often my Ignorance and little Acquaintance with him, yet I can tell him, with a great deal of Truth, that he has not produced *one single Passage* from him, which I had not seen and considered, and knew to be nothing to his Purpose, long before he had taken such Pains to convince us of it.

But I know what *our Critick* will have to say to all this, in his next *Answer*; he will tell us, that we may read *what Stuff* we please in our *vulgar interpolated Editions*, but that his *ancient Manuscripts* tell him quite another Story; and *Johannes Hierosolymitanus* was put corruptly by some *drunken, drowsy Stationer's Boy* for *Johannes Constantinopolitanus*. This is the Advantage which *Great Criticks* have over such *poor Mortals* as never made an *Emendation*, of which we shall have more Occasion to take Notice by and by.

In the rest of *our Editor's Account of this Epistle*, there is no great Difference between us, except in the *Lie* he gives me about the *best Interpreters*, the *Vulgate Edition*, and *Fathers*. What Reason or Pretence he had for it, I must leave to the Reader, who will, I dare say, give me the *onely Satisfaction* I desire, by shewing a *just Contempt and Detestation* of such *brutish and infamous Scurrility*.

As for the *other Passages of St. Jerom*, I had said in my *Remarks*, that I could produce *twenty*, to confirm the Truth of what I have advanced on this Subject. Here *our Editor* once more gives me the *Lie* †; but if it were not too impertinent † p. 21. and tedious to the Reader, I would undertake to shew him *twice the Number*; of which I shall give *onely such a Specimen* at present, as will be sufficient for my Purpose.

In his *Commentaries on Isaiah*, he tells us [a], that it is to be attended to very nicely, that in the many Citations which the Evangelists and Apostles brought from the old Scriptures, they did not follow the Order of Words, but the Sense only.

In the same Book, he says [b], that St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians fetch'd Authorities from the Original Scriptures, not translating Word for Word (which kind of Interpretation he perfectly despised) but expressing the Truth of the Sense to confirm what he was proving.

In his *Commentaries on Amos* he goes a step farther, and tells us [c], that not only the Apostles, but the Apostolical Writers, in citing and translating Texts of the old Scriptures, never regarded the Words but the Sense only. There are, I believe, near twenty Places in St. Jerom, where this very Observation is repeated; and it is generally introduced with some particular Hint or Monition [d]; that it is to be observed nicely, attended to diligently, and not only in the Case mentioned, but every where. In his *Commentaries on Galatians*, he says [e], we are not to imagine that the Gospel consists in the Words of Scripture, but in the Sense. In his *Comment on the Epistle to Titus*, he says [f], I follow rather the Sense than the Words of Scripture. In his *Preface to Job*; this Translation of mine, says he [g], will sometimes follow the Words, sometimes only the Sense, and sometimes

[a] In multis testimoniis quæ Evangelistæ vel Apostoli de libris veteribus assumerunt, curiosius attendendum est, non eos verborum ordinem sequutos esse sed sensum. Comm. in Isa c. 5.

[b] Assumit Apostolus Paulus de authenticis libris, in Epistolâ quam scribit ad Corinthios: non verbum ex verbo reddens (quod facere omninò contemnit) sed sensum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur, &c. cap. 64.

[c] Apostolos & Apostolicos viros, in

ponendis testimoniis de veteri Testamento, non verba considerare sed sensum. cap. 5.

[d] Curiosius attendendum; diligentius observandum; non solum in præsentî loco, sed ubicunque. Ep. ad Alg.

[e] Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse Evangelium, sed in sensu. c. 1.

[f] Magis scripturarum sensum quam verba sectamur.

[g] Hæc autem Translatio nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit.

both. In his *Letter to Sunnia and Fretela* [a] this Rule of translating is to be followed, which I have often laid down, that where there is no Hurt to the Sense, we should observe the Propriety of the Language into which we translate.

In the same *Epistle*, he says [b], if we should translate Word for Word, we fall into a false and erroneous Affectation, and our Translation becomes absurd. And again [c], while we follow this false and erroneous Affectation of interpreting, we lose all the Beauty of the Translation.

In a *Letter to St. Austin*, he says [d], this is my Rule, that where there is no Change in the Sense, I may preserve in my Translation the Purity and Elegance of the Latin Tongue. And he tells us expressly, in his *Letter to Pammachius*, that this cannot be done by translating according to the Words or Order of Words: For how many things, says he [e], are elegant in Greek, which, if rendered Word for Word, are flat in Latin? And, on the contrary, what pleases us in Latin, if translated according to the Order of Words, would be offensive to them in the Greek.

In Answer to all this our Editor shews, * from a Passage of * p. 22. St. Hilary, that the Latin Translators of the Old Testament were nice and curious in observing the Words and Order of Words; yet he should have taken notice withal, that Hilary is condemning them for it at the same time. But we may observe here again, by the way, an Instance of his singular Modesty. 'Tis affirmed, he says, † by the Fathers, that the old Latin Versions stuck close to the Order of Words, and produces for it this Passage of Hilary; yet

[a] Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam sæpè diximus; ut ubi non sit damnum in sensu, linguæ in quam transferimus, proprietas conservetur.

[b] Quòd si transferre voluerimus ad verbum in $\alpha\alpha\alpha\zeta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ interpretationis incurrimus, & fit absurda Translatio.

[c] Et dum interpretationis $\alpha\alpha\alpha\zeta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ sequimur, omnem decorem translationis amittimus.

[d] Et nos hoc sequimur, ut ubi nulla est de sensu mutatio, Latini sermonis elegantiam conservemus.

[e] Cujus rei exemplum ex nostro sermone capere possumus. Quanta enim apud Græcos bene dicuntur, quæ, si ad verbum transferamus, in Latino non resonant; & è regione, quæ apud nos placent, si vertantur juxta ordinem apud illos displicebunt.

† p. 21.

when I said a little before, that *Jerom* had given Instances from the Fathers for his Way of translating, which I grounded upon a Citation likewise from this same *Hilary*; he tells me, † *I lie*, and that there is *not one Word of the Fathers* in *that* Epistle. However, what *Hilary* says here may easily be allowed him, and yet is nothing at all to his Purpose; for it is *these very Translators*, that *St. Jerom* is so severe upon in every Part of his Writings: 'Tis this very Manner of translating which he calls over and over again *κακοζήλεια*, a false and *absurd Affeclation*, and *putrida interpretatio*; a *nauseous Translation*. He says frequently [a], that *Aquila* was a Translator of this kind, rendering *Word for Word*; and tho' for this he was much admired by the *Jews*, yet he tells us [b], that for the very same Reason, he was justly slighted and thrown aside by *Christians*; and calls him a *troublesome, contentious Translator*, for sticking so closely to *Words, Syllables and Letters*.

And now from these Authorities, together with what I have collected in my *Remarks*, we have a full and clear View of the Controversy between our *Editor* and *myself*; about our *different Expositions of this Passage of St. Jerom*. The Reader, I am satisfied, cannot help observing, that *my Explication* of it makes the *Learned Father* speak *rationally, intelligibly, and consistently with himself*; while our *Editor's Notion* charges *Nonsense, Absurdity, and endless Contradictions upon him*.

But I am still to give an Account why I confine *this Notion of St. Jerom's to the Old Testament* onely. This I take to be intimated in one Expression of this very Passage, *viz. Me in interpretatione Græcorum absque Scripturis sanctis, &c.* In my translating the Greek of the Scriptures, says *St. Jerom*, I did so and so. Now it is allowed that he made *no Translation at all*

[a] De Aquila autem non miror, quod eruditissimus linguæ Hebraicæ & verbum de verbo exprimens, &c. Comm. in Isai.

[b] Aquila autem contentiosus interpret, qui non solum verba, sed etymolo-

gias quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis—ille κακοζήλως & syllabas interpretatur & literas. Ep. ad Pamm.

of the Greek of the New Testament, but in the Old translated the Greek of the Septuagint, as he tells us himself in several Places, particularly, in a Letter to St. Austin, speaking of the Old Testament, he has the very Expression, *ibi Græca transtulimus; there I translated the Greek*; whereas in the New, he onely made some Corrections in the common Latin Version of his Time. The Words [*Scripturis sanctis*] are applied by him likewise in this Epistle to the Old Testament onely, as in a Passage already cited, *Quod in Scripturis sanctis velint, nolint Apostolis concessuri sunt*. But his own Reasoning is sufficient to prove that this Notion must be restrained to the old Scriptures: For in the Old Testament, says he, * that all Origen's Allegories referred to the New; but in the * p. 30. New he could refer to nothing, but either common Notions, or visionary Schemes of his own. This was still confirmed to me by what I have observed, that the Jewish Writers, and such as are infected with their Notions, are full of idle Whims about Mysteries in the Order of Words of the Old Testament. And St. Jerom himself, after he had learnt Hebrew, might probably be a little touch'd with these kind of Fancies; but no one Writer, that I know of, has affirmed, that the Order of Words in the New Testament is mysterious.

But here our Editor takes me severely to task; and will shew me, † that there is more in the Fathers, than I must pretend to † p. 31. be acquainted with; and to expose my Ignorance the more, nothing will serve him, but a Passage from St. Jerom himself, whom I have been turning over with so much Care; who tells us [a] in his Commentaries on the Ephesians, that in the Greek of the Scriptures, the Words, Syllables, Titles, and Points are full of Senses. The Reader, I dare say, must at first be a good deal surprized to find our Editor proving the Order of Words to be a Mystery, by such a Passage as this, where there is not so much as a Word, Syllable, Title or Point that relates at all either to Order of Words,

[a] Sed quia ita habetur in Græco, & in divinis scripturis plena sunt sensibus, singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, puncta, c. 3.

or Mystery. But let us have a little Patience, and he will soon make it out to a Miracle; for he has got an *Argument* called *Parity of Reason*, which will prove to a Demonstration, that *Syllables, Tittles, Points, must signifie Order of Words; and full of Senses, imply Mystery.* And now being sure of Victory, he begins already to insult, with *what says our Censor now? Are not Syllables, Tittles, Points, as small things as the Order of Words? And must not, full of Senses, mean deep, latent, recondite Senses? And is not this as strong an Expression as Mystery?* Many of his Creatures, I know, would bless themselves here with Astonishment at *their Master's great Sagacity.* What ingenious, what critical, what profound Reasoning is this? How clear is it now our Master has found it out; and yet no Man could have found it out but himself? But it happens a little unluckily, that St. Jerom seems to have disclaimed all this Nonsense, which our Editor would fasten upon him: For in an *Epistle to Algasia*, he says [a], *It is not in the Power of Language to express deep, latent, recondite Senses; much less can Tittles and Points do it.* But in order to set this Matter in a clear Light, let us take a Review of the whole Passage: St. Jerom in his *Commentaries on Ephesians* iii. 6. translates συγκαληρονόμα, σύσσωμα, συμμέτοχα, by *cohæredes, concorporales, & participes*, and says, *that he knows these Words make but an aukward Figure in Latin; but because it is so in the Greek, and that in the Holy Scriptures Syllables (or the Apposition of such Conjunctions) as well as the Points and Tittles have their Significations; magis volumus in compositione structurâque verborum quàm intelligentiâ periclitari;* which our Critic translates thus, viz. *We chuse rather to forego (that is, to let alone or not meddle with) the Composition and Structure of the Words, than to weaken the Meaning; whereas the Sense is just contrary, viz. we chuse to venture upon coining and compounding Words, which are not strictly Latin, rather than to run any Hazard in the Sense.*

And now what is there in all this, which has the least View

[a] Profundo enim & reconditos sensus lingua non explicat.

or *Tendency to our Author's Argument*? What is there here said of the *New Testament*, which may not be applied also in some Measure to *every other Greek Book*? And who besides himself would say, that *the Compounding of Words by Prepositions, and the Points and Littles in Greek are as insignificant as the Order of Words*? A thing, in it self *indifferent*, which may be varied and transposed without the least Variation of the Sense. Sure never any Authority was produced so *impertinently* as this; and I desire him to shew, that even *his own Freethinkers* ever interpreted any Citation *more blunderingly* or applied it more *awkwardly*. But if he could after all have made out of this Passage some *little Matter* to his Purpose, yet St. Jerom would tell him in his [a] Preface to this Book, that he ought not much to insist upon it, because he owns this Piece to be a *hasty, incorrect Performance*, and *not well digested or much thought of by him*.

We are now got through the Examination of *our Editor's new and noble Thought a priori*; how *noble* an one it is, the Reader is by this time sufficiently convinced; but as to *the Newness* of it, it had been much more to his Purpose, I can tell him, if he could have proved it to be *an old one*; but since he values himself so much upon *its Novelty*; we must be so candid, as to allow him the *sole and intire Credit* of it, and must own, that *no Man alive* ever dreamt of it before, or was *capable of forming it* but *himself*. But if, after all, it should at last be found without a *just Foundation*; or should fail him in any Part of what he has promised himself and the World from it; then this *whole Scheme* must appear to be wholly *useless and impertinent*; for *bating this Whim* about St. Jerom's *Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with *his old Version* than what has effectually been done before him, by *much better and abler Hands*; excepting, I say, this *silly Notion*, all that can be done towards *settling the Genuine Text* from the *mutual Consent and Agreement*

[a] Ut sciatis me non cogitatum diu limatumque proferre Sermonem. Com. ad Ephes.

* P. 23.

in Words and the Order of them, has already been executed, as I have sufficiently shewn in *my Remarks*, by *the Complutenses, Erasmus, Stephens, Mr. Toinard, and Dr. Mill*. Every one of these knew perfectly well how far the *old Greek and Latin Copies answered and tallied with each other*; not *one of them* but had made the Experiment in *many more Manuscripts [a]*, and *as old ones as he himself*. And not onely *Dr. Mill*, but *other Critics* have given us exactly the same Account he does of *those very old Manuscripts* he speaks of *, *how Line answers to Line, and Word to Word in Order [b]*, in the *Greek and Latin*. This I desire to be particularly observed by the Reader, because *our Editor has the Face* to affirm, that not *one Editor* of them all, not *Dr. Mill by Name*, had ever taken any Notice in their Collation of *Manuscripts of the Order of Words*.

It was no Secret, I say, to *prior Editors*, that the *old Version* was upon the Matter a *verbal Translation*; not onely adhering pretty closely to the *Words*, but very much to the *Order of them too*.

* P. 14.

Dr. Mill has shewn this to be *the Genius of the old Vulgate thro' every Book of the New Testament*, and has produced likewise *every Alteration*, now to be found, which *St. Jerom* made in it; and all this, with no other *View or Purpose*, than to prove and clear up *the Original Text*; and yet *our Editor* has the Assurance likewise to affirm *, that the *Doct̃or* never meddled at all with the *Latin Vulgate*, nor ever once dreamt of the excellent Use

[a] Erasmus institutâ semel atque iterum Græcorum Exemplarium inter se & cum MSS. codicibus versionis vulgatæ collatione ad Editionem, &c. Mill. Prolegom.

Adhibitis in consilium utriusque lingue codicibus, vetustissimis simul & emendatissimis. Erasim. ad Leon. x.

Porro veterem versionem negligendam non existimavi, &c. Steph. Præf. 1551.

Ex quâ Rob. Stephani de veteri interprete sententia vulgatum Textum Græcum

castigandum putavi ex vaticanarum lectio-
num & veteris versionis mutuo consensu.
Toinard,-Harm. Evan. 1709.

[b] Exemplar ipsum quod attinet; descriptum est literis, &c. in quibus sedulô à scriptore cautum est, ut Græca & Latina sibi invicem responderent, verbum fere verbo, servato plerumque eodem ipso verborum ordine. Mill. Proleg. p. 182.

Retento eodem verborum quantumcunque transpositorum ordine. Id. p. 133.

of it; tho' he tells us and shews us all along in *his Prolegomena* [a] that he paid the utmost Veneration to it, and valued every tatter'd Fragment of it like old Gold.

But tho' former Editors, as I have said, speak so much of the close Adherence of the Vulgate to the Greek, yet they knew withal how far this Harmony extended; and shew us plainly, that it was so far from following the Words so scrupulously and superstitiously, as if the Order of them were a Mystery; that it often departed from them; sometimes wantonly and without Reason; in re ludicrâ quasi lasciviens & oscitans. Mr. Martin tells us [b], that as to the admirable Agreement, which our Editor pretends to have found amongst his Manuscripts, in the Places he has compared; he can assure him without Rashness, that he will find several others, wherein he'll find Difference enough; which I shewed likewise from the Observation of Erasmus, Arias Montanus, and Beza.

But here † our Editor comes over us again, with his old fetch; † p. 24. What Greek? What Vulgate was this they talk of? As for those recent, interpolated, scoundril, scrub Manuscripts, which they saw and used, and which our Master would scorn to look into, they will differ from our Master's Greek and Vulgate in thousands of Places. But he forgets sure, that of the four very old Manuscripts, which he had appealed to in the very last Page, Beza had used two at least, and the most considerable of them; one of which he made a Present of to the University of Cambridge. As for Erasmus and the other Editors, they have all given us Accounts of some Manuscripts they used, of the most venerable Antiquity, which the Learned have not been able to find out to this Day; and as it is probable, that some of them may have been lost; so neither is it unlikely, that others, after having lain neglected and buried for many Years in Obscurity, may have been retrieved

[a] *Vetrem Novi Testamenti Italianam summa veneratione prosequimur, ejusque vel semesa fragmenta auro contra non cara ducimus* Mill Proleg. p. 142.

Restat jam ipsius Hieronymi inspiciamus Exemplar. Ibid. p. 81.

[b] Defence of Dissertat. English.

and produced again into the World under the Notion of a new Discovery.

But we need not trouble our selves, as I have said in *my Remarks*, with producing Evidence in a Case so clear; for his own Specimen effectually overthrows his Hypothesis; where, in the Latin Text, as dressed up by himself, we see many considerable Variations in the Order of Words from the Greek, as v. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, &c. This our Editor calls * a Specimen of the greatest Malice and Impudence, that ever Scribler out of the dark committed to Paper. But let him rave as much as he pleases; I am so far from seeing any Reason to change my Mind, that I still insist, that these very Variations are a sufficient Confutation of his Notion; and with these I will undertake to shew, that the Account which other Editors have given of the old Version is just and true; whilst his own is false and ridiculous. Dr. Mill says [a], of this Version, that in this Book of the Revelations it is very accurate, and almost every where follows the Greek closely at the Heels, unless where it is proper to change the Tenses of the Verbs. Our Editor on the other hand says, † that St. Jerom, who reformed this Version, believed the Order of Words to be a Mystery; which he observed therefore in his Latin most religiously, not daring to vary a Tittle from it. The Question is, which of these Characters is true? And it may easily be decided by an Appeal to the Specimen. For instance, τὴν ὡ-
ταμὲν ἐν ἑϋθεν καὶ ἐν ἑϋθεν, v. 2.] is rendred in the Latin, ex utraque parte fluminis. Here we see, the Version is very accurate as to the Sense, but makes very free with the Order of Words. Our
* p. 24. Editor says *, it could not be translated otherwise, without a Barbarism. But what's that to the Purpose, in a Version which is allowed to abound in Barbarisms? If it had been rendred, fluminis hinc & hinc; it would have been as intelligible, and even as good Latin as many other Places, that might be produced; but

[a] In Apocalypsi, versio admodum accurata erat, ipsisque Textus Græci vestigiis ubique ferè κατὰ πόδας insistebat,

nisi cum series narrationis exigent, ut mutarentur verborum tempora. Mill. Proleg.

if it must needs be *ex utraque parte*; why should not *fluminis* be put *before* rather than *behind*, to correspond the better with the *Greek in a Point so sacred*?

Ως τὸ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῇ, v. 12.] is in the Latin, *secundum opera sua*. Here we see the *Version* preserving still the *Sense*, but regarding neither the *Words nor Order of Words*. But our *Editor* tells † us again, that this could not possibly be helped, *for it must* † p. 24. *have been very awkward to have translated otherwise*; as if *Mysteries* were to be given up for *Trifles*. A Page or two ago, St. *Jerom* was defending *awkward Latin*, for fear of losing a *Tittle of Sense*; but now the *Tables are turned*, and he must needs *profane Mysteries*, for fear of writing *awkwardly*. But what is most surprising, is to find our *Editor* roundly affirming, that in *these two Instances* there is not the *least Variation*, nor *any breach of Order at all*; and yet but *three Lines* after he calls it, *a judicious Change of the whole*; surely *no Man but himself* could have such a *Contempt* for his *Readers* as to think to put them off with such *shuffling, senseless, incoherent Stuff* as this.

He is forced however at last to own, * that there are *two De-* * p. 25. *viations from the Order of Words*, as ἐκ ἕσται ἔτι, v. 5.] *ultra non erit*, for *non erit ultra*; and τῷ δεικνύοντι μοι ταῦτα, v. 8.] *qui mihi hæc ostendebat*, instead of *ostendentis mihi hæc*. But these he laughs at, as *too trifling* to deserve *any Regard or Consideration*; and so far I agree with him, that the *Alterations* are indeed *very trifling*; and that it would be impertinent to take notice of them on any Account but this, where it happens, that the *more inconsiderable* they are, the more effectually they shew the *Absurdity of his Notion*; for if St. *Jerom* believed the *Order of Words to be a Mystery*; would he violate that *Mystery* for a *Trifle*, for nothing at all? If he believed it a *Point of Religion*, to stick to the *very Order of Words*, would he have departed from it in *meer Wantonness*, without the *least Pretence* in the World for it? A Man, one would think, must be infatuated, that would reason so *absurdly and inconsistently*.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

As for *the other two Instances* I referred to, my Meaning was to shew by them a *verbal Variation from the Greek*, which is as much against his Scheme as *if the Order were changed*; for he promises, that *Jerom's Latin* is to *agree with the Greek*, as well in the *very Words* as *the Order*. And yet for all his Reflection upon *my* & *cætera*, I can produce many more Examples of this kind in *his Specimen*, as *ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα*, v. 20.] is in the *Latin*, *qui testimonium perhibet illorum*; and can any Man call this *translating verbally*, or *adhering religiously to the Words*? Nay, is it not just the contrary, a *departing from the Words*, as far as is possible, without *hurting the Sense*? If the *Translator* had been so scrupulous, as our *Editor* makes him, he must necessarily have rendred it by, *testificans hæc*; which is a Phrase very common with the *Vulgate Version*. Again *παῖς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος*, v. 15.] must, according to our *Editor's Notion*, have been translated, *omnis amans & faciens Mendacium*, and not, *qui amat & facit*; and *ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι*, v. 8.] must likewise have been rendred, *ceceidi adorare*; and not, *ut adorarem*; for there are Instances in this very Chapter of both these kinds of Translation. And now we see the Truth of Dr. Mill's Observation, and the Extravagance of our *Editor's*; the *Version* keeps accurately to the *Sense*; almost every where closely to the *Words*; and yet changes sometimes the *Moods and Tenses of Verbs*, but yet *departs* both from *Words and Order of Words* often enough to convince us, that the *Translator* never dreamt of any *Mystery* lodged in either.

But the Truth and Merit of *this new and noble Thought* may easily be brought to a *Trial and Experiment* by the Reader; for let him take *the Scraps of Greek* here produced, and with our *Editor's Notion* fixt in his Head, let him sit down to *translate them* anew, as *exactly and agreeably* to it as possible; and he will soon find it necessary in every single Instance to give us *other Latin*, than we now see in *the Specimen*. Or on the other hand, let him throw aside *the Greek*, and endeavour to *translate the Latin* back again with *the Notion* of its agreeing most religiously and minutely with the *Original both in the Words and the Order of them*;

them and he would soon find *his Greek* likewise appear *very different* from that of the *present Text*; he would soon find, I say, in both these Cases, that *our Editor's Notion*, if pursued exactly, and with *so much Stress*, as is laid upon it, would, instead of mending *both Texts*, make them both instrumental to the *corrupting* each other.

I had before observed in *my Remarks*, how *our Editor's Notion* would naturally lead him to *wrest* and *force both Texts*, to accommodate them *the better to his Hypothesis*. This he will needs have to be a *stupid* and *senseless Calumny*; *confuted even by my self*; for if *he had been disposed*, he says, * *to warp his Texts*; he * p. 2. could easily have *set all the Variations* I have been objecting to him, in *their right Order*, and *have kept his own Counsel*. We see what an Opinion he has of *the Sense and Abilities of Mankind*; there's *no Sagacity, no Judgment, no Observation in any Man but himself*; we have nothing but *his great Integrity* to trust to for the *Genuineness of our Scriptures*. 'Tis but *keeping his own Counsel*, and he could put upon us *what Text he pleases*, and the Christian World be never the wiser. But for all the Appeal he here makes to *his great Fidelity*, the Reader may easily observe in *his Specimen*, what a *Byass and Prejudice* there is upon him from the Influence of *this Notion of his*; for as to *the Greek Text*, he does not scruple to *make it bend to the Latin* upon the Credit of a *single Manuscript*; and often changes it, where his *main Authority* is fetch'd from *the Consent of the Latin Copies*, v. 5, &c. And for *the Latin*, he is still less scrupulous; making it *comply with the Greek*, sometimes, as he owns, *contrary to the greatest Part of the Manuscript*, v. 5. sometimes *contrary to all the Manuscripts he ever saw*, v. 3. *This Agreement of the two Texts*, he calls, * *as plain* * p. 27. and *cogent a Reason for altering them, as any Authority*. And it is not enough for him, we find, † *to restore the Text to Truth* † p. 28. and *Certainty*, except it be *restored to Order too*. And what else is this but *putting a Force*, as I said, *upon both Texts*, the better to make good *his own Hypothesis*?

In the Close of *my Remarks* on this *second Paragraph*, I had

observed, that *our Editor in a Sermon preached some time ago at Cambridge, and since printed, had spoken of the vulgar Latin in a Stile very different from what he uses at present; and I took Occasion there to shew, as an Instance of his great Skill and Knowledge in the Controversy he was then handling; how in the Face of an University, and in a studied, laboured Discourse upon the Errors of Popery, he betrayed a profound Ignorance of what the Church of Rome maintained, or the Council of Trent had decreed in respect to the Vulgate Version; and blunder'd along with the common Herd of Writers, about their enhancing the Stream above the Fountain; the Translation above the Original; the corrupt Latin of an unknown Author, above the inspired Greek. All which Stuff can serve for nothing else, but to make us contemptible to the Papists; having been so often confuted, and so constantly disclaimed by all their best Writers.*

But he has thought fit to take no other Notice of this Charge, than by repaying my Compliment *in kind*, and answering me * *with a Blunder of my own*; for having told us, *in this Sermon of his, that more ancient Manuscripts are preserved of the Greek than of the Latin.* I was silly enough, it seems, to mistake it for *more in Number*; whereas he meant *onely more in Degree*; that is, *ancienter.* For tho', says he, * *there are four or five Greek Manuscripts, older than any Latin one; yet for those of a thousand Years old, there are twenty Latin ones preserved for one Greek.* We see here, that *Manuscripts of a thousand Years old* are nothing at all with him; he talks as familiarly of them, as if they were to be found in every Bookseller's Shop. He told us not long ago † of *eight Greek Manuscripts, he had by him, of above a thousand Years old*; and if there was not *one more in Being than these eight*, yet that would raise the Number of *his Latin ones to eight Score*, which I am sure, modestly speaking, is at *least ten times more*, than are now known to be extant in all the World. *Jac. le Long, a learned Father of the Oratory, and Library-keeper at Paris, after a most curious and diligent Enquiry among the best Authors, and Libraries of Europe, could not find so much as one Manuscript of*

* P. 27.

* Ibid.

† P. 13.

of St. Jerom's vulgar Latin, which appeared certainly and undoubtedly to be a thousand Years old; as we see in the Catalogue, he has printed, of an hundred of the best and oldest of them, now known in the World, with Critical and Historical Notes upon each. He tells us, as I find him quoted also by Mr. Martin, (p. 14.) that he found none older than Theodulphus, who was an Abbot, and Bishop of Orléans about A. D. 790. He mentions another of the Year 795. and a Third of which he doubts a little, in a Monastery of the Cistercians, which is reputed to be a thousand Years old. But this is another Instance of the Liveliness of our Editor's Imagination; and shews that Father Amelote was really but a Novice to him.

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of Origen, which was the Standard to the most Learned of the Fathers, at the time of the Council of Nice and two Centuries after. And he is sure, That the Greek and Latin Manuscripts, by their mutual Assistance, do so settle the Original Text to the smallest Nicety, as cannot be performed now in any Classic Author whatever: and that out of a Labyrinth of Thirty Thousand Various Readings, that crowd the Pages of our present best Editions, all put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Persons; this Clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two Hundred out of so many Thousands that can deserve the least Consideration.

REMARKS.

In my former Remarks on this Paragraph, I had said, that the Account, our Editor here gives of Origen's Exemplar, which he pretends to have retrieved, seemed to be a groundless Fancy, or Mistake of his own; and I supported my Opinion with many good Reasons and Authorities, which I need not now repeat. Our Editor however is resolved, we see, at all Adventures to stick to his Point; and growing onely more desperate by Opposition, advances still and rises in his Assertion, *ut ex frontis duritiâ fulem le&tori faceret, & quod impudenter scriberet, verè scribere judicaretur,*

* P. 30.

† Ibid.

tur. Hier. For Origen's *Exemplar*, which was before a *Standard* only to the most Learned of the Fathers, is now declared to have been received as such * by both Eastern and Western Churches. Nay, he now tells us the very *Circumstances* and *Manner* of Origen's composing it, as if he had stood all the while at his Elbow, or had been as intimate with him as once with Dr. Mill; for he gathered, he assures us †, from all Parts the Exemplars of the best Note; examined and collated them; and by those Helps settled the genuine Text, just as he himself, and other good Critics would do, even at this Day. Yet all this formal Story will be found at last, to be pure Invention of his own, without any Reality or Foundation in Truth or History; and I may venture without any Scruple to affirm, that there is not the least Ground or Authority for it in all Antiquity.

The first Argument I shall produce for this Opinion of mine (which I take to be a very conclusive one) is what I have met with and borrowed from Origen himself, who tells us in his Commentaries upon Matthew (c. xix. v. 19.) that he believes this Sentence, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σὺ ὡς σεαυτὸν, thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self] to have been an Interpolation or Addition made to the Text by some Copyer; for which he gives very good Reasons; but does not, as Criticks do now, produce the Authority of any particular Manuscript to support his Conjecture. It would be impious, says he, to assert such a Passage as this to be interpolated, if we did not know the great Difference there is in the several Copies of the New Testament, caused either by the Negligence, Ignorance, or Rashness of Transcribers. This Evil, continues he, [a] we have, by God's Assistance, remedied, as far as concerns the Old Testament, by making use of its several Editions as the Rule of judging by. Here we see Origen is treating expressly of the Corruptions, which were found in the Copies of the New Testament; and if he had made it his Business to have corrected and reformed them, and out of them all to have gathered and settled the genuine,

[a] Ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἔν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις σάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν. Orig. τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεῶν Comm. in Mat. p. 381. ex Edit. Huet. διδόνῃ, ἐυρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρη-

authentic Text, as our Editor affirms, it would have been here *very proper*, nay *very necessary* to have given us some Account of it; but instead of that, he tells us, *that he took this Pains onely in the Old Testament*, without any mention, either *here* or *any where else*, that he ever did the *same in the New*.

Eusebius, who was a *zealous Apologist* for Origen, has not given the *least Hint* of it, in his *History* of those Times; tho' he has left us a very large Account of the *Merits of this Great Man*. He tells us, with what *incredible Industry* he applied himself to the *Study of the Scriptures* [a], and *what numerous Volumes of Commentaries* he wrote upon *most of the Books of Sacred Writ*; what *Pains* he took in publishing his celebrated Work called *Hexapla*; where his Diligence was chiefly employed in *correcting and amending the Edition of the Septuagint*: But he says not *one Word* of any *critical Pains* he took upon the *Text of the New Testament*; or of any *famous Exemplar* he left of it; but instead of that, acquaints us, *that he did not receive some of its Books as Canonical*.

Ruffinus, who translated most of his *Works* into *Latin*, and wrote an *Apology* for him, has not taken the least Notice of any *such correct Exemplar* of his, as is here pretended.

St. Jerom, who was a *great Admirer* of Origen's *Parts and Learning*, is very particular in the frequent account he gives of his *Hexapla*; yet says not *one Word* to make us believe that he ever attempted or effected any *Critical Edition of the New Testament*, or left any *Copy* of it behind him so famous for its *Correctness*, as to become a *Standard to any Body*; and as to the *Edition of the Septuagint*, exhibited in his *Hexapla*, where he had placed most of his Pains and Skill, he often tells us [b], *that different Countries used different Copies even of that*: For *Alexandria and Ægypt*, says

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. cap. 25. l. 6.

[b] Nunc cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur Exemplaria, & antiqua illa translatio corrupta sit, &c. Alexandria & Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesiychium laudat autorem. Constantinopolis usque

Antiochiam Juliani Martyris Exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæstinos Codices legunt, quos ab origine elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Hier. Præf. in lib. Paralipom.

he, followed the Edition of Hesychius: Constantinople as far as Antioch, preferred that of Julian the Martyr; and the Provinces between these two read Origen's Copies, which Eusebius and Pamphilus published. So that his most celebrated, admired and critical Work, his Edition of the old Scriptures, instead of being a Standard to the whole Christian World, was onely received as such in a small Corner of it, hardly beyond the Confines of Palæstine.

St. Jerom lived at Bethlehem, in this very Country, where he made a Collection of Origen's Works; in order to use him as a Commentator, and not as a Critic; for he condemns [a] his very Edition of the Septuagint, as corrupted rather than mended by him; and when he was reproached as an Admirer of his Notions, I praised in him, says he [b], the Commentator, and not the Author of Opinions; his Parts not his Faith; the Philosopher not the Apostle: and in another Place, he says [c], that it was in his Tomes or Volumes of Commentaries that he spread the full Sails of his Wit and Parts to the blowing Winds. St. Jerom, whose chief Employment was writing Commentaries upon the Scriptures, made it his Business to collect all the Commentators whatsoever, who were of any Note, or admired in the Church, and Origen among the rest, to whom he often gives the Preference. He tells us [d], that he abounded in many different Editions of the sacred Writings; and when he was charged with following Origen's Opinions, he excuses himself by saying [e], I have collected his Books, I confess, but wish that I had the Volumes of all the Writers of this kind. And again, it is the Duty, says he [f], of a Commentator to give the Opinions of many Writers; and for that Reason I have also given

[a] Epist. ad August.

[b] Laudavi interpretem non Dogmatistam; ingenium non fidem; Philosophum non Apostolum. Id. ad Pam.

[c] Ille inscripsit Tomos, nos volumina;—in quo opere tota ingenii sui vela spirantibus ventis dedit. Id. ad Vincen. Presb.

[d] Et quoniam, largiente Domino,

multis sacrae Bibliothecae Codicibus abundamus. Id. ad Flor.

[e] Congregavi libros ejus, fateor, &c. Utinam omnium Tractatorum haberem volumina. Id. ad Pamm. & Ocean.

[f] Commentatoris officium multorum sententias ponere, etiam Origenis explanationem posui. Id. cont. Ruff. l. 1.

*the Explication of Origen. And in the same Book he says [a], in my Commentaries on the Ephesians, I have followed Origen, and Didymus, and Apollinarius, (who all certainly hold Opinions contrary to each other) in such a Manner, that I might not lose the true Faith. In these Commentaries which he had collected there might very probably be added or interwoven a Copy of the Text, which each Author followed; and it must be allowed likewise, that Origen here and there occasionally interspersed some Critical Notes and Observations upon the different Readings of the several Exemplars he had met with. And this will lead us to the true Meaning and Explication of those two Passages of St. Jerom, which our Editor has brought, * as the sole Authority and Foundation of his Assertion; both which he borrowed onely from Dr. Mill [b], and tho' he pretends so much to despise his Authority, yet was plainly led by it into this unhappy Blunder, by the Doctor's having laid more stress upon these Passages than they will be found able to bear; and what makes it clear, that he looked no farther than the Doctor's Prolegomena, is, that besides these two Citations, he mentions here a third, which he found also in the same Place, about the Collation of Origen's Copies at Cæsaræa, with telling us where to look for it in St. Jerom, because Dr. Mill himself had neglected to inform us, where he found it. As to the two Passages here produced, the first is in this Father's Commentaries on Matthew (c. 24.) where he speaks [c] of a Reading found in the Latin Copies which was not in the Greek ones, especially those of Origen and Pierius. The second is in his Commentaries on Galatians (c. 3.) where he says [d], that he omitted to say any thing upon an Expression there mentioned, because it was omitted in Origen's Copies. And now, what does our Editor gather from these two Passages? Why his*

[a] Ego in Commentariis ad Ephesios sic Origenem, & Dydimum, & Apollinarium sequutus sum (qui certè contraria inter se habent dogmata) ut fidei meæ non amitterem veritatem. Id. ibid.

[b] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 64.

[c] In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est, *neque Filius*: cum in Græcis & maximè Adamantii & Pierii Exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum.

[d] Sed hoc quia in Adamantii Exemplaribus non habetur *omissum*.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

Conclusion is, that *Origen's Exemplar of the New Testament* was a *Standard to the Eastern and Western Churches*, that is, the whole *Christian World*; and yet the *Premisses* imply nothing more, than that *St. Jerom* made use of *Origen*, amongst other *Commentators*; sometimes following one, and sometimes another. For the first of these *Instances* will prove full as well that *Pierius's Exemplar* was a *Standard*, as that of *Origen*; since both of them are put exactly upon the *Level*; and the second onely shews, that *Origen* was there preferred to the rest of the *Commentators*: For tho' *St. Jerom* made use, as I have shewn, of several of them in other Books; yet he tells us [a], that he followed *Origen* alone in this; and it was but necessary therefore for him to omit the saying any thing upon such *Passages*, as *Origen* himself had left out of his Copy, or had neglected to take notice of.

Among all the *Modern Writers* who are allowed to be the most knowing in *Antiquity*, and the best Judges of the Point in question, there is not the least *Notion* that *Origen* left behind him any *Exemplar* of the *New Testament*, which was received afterwards as a *Standard*.

Neither *Du Pin* in his *Life of Origen*, nor *Mons. Tillemont*, who has written still more largely and particularly about him, has given us any Hint about it, but tells us onely the old Story of his *Hexapla* and his *Commentaries*, and how the great Reputation he acquired by these, drew many Strangers from all Parts to visit him.

The *Learned Huetius* (in his long and elaborate Treatise called *Origeniana*, prefixed to his Edition of *Origen's Commentaries*) has collected all that *Antiquity* and the *Fathers* have delivered of *Origen's Writings and Opinions*; with a particular History of all who favoured, or declared against him, whether Churches or private Persons; yet he gives us no Reason to imagine that his Copy of the *New Testament* was taken notice of any where after his Death as a

[a] Imbecillitatem virium mearum sentiens Origenis Commentarios sum sequutus. Id. Præf. ad Galatas.

Standard of the genuine Text ; but on the contrary, that [a] his Industry was chiefly celebrated for explaining the Mysteries of the Old Testament ; and that [b] he did not stick to any one Edition, but used several ; and often quoted the Spurious and Apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews, as St. Jerom himself assures [c] us.

M. Simon [d] indeed speaks very roundly to the present Subject, and affirms directly that Origen never did what our Editor here declares him to have done ; that is, leave any Exemplar of the New Testament as a Standard of the Genuine Text to the Church. He corrected, he tells us, the Edition of the Septuagint, according to the common Rules of Criticism ; but did nothing like it in the New Testament : For the Ecclesiastical Writers, says he, [e] who lived after him, never take the least Notice of two Sorts of Editions of the New Testament, as they do always of the Old, viz. the common one, and the other corrected by Origen. He owns indeed, that he collected with Care the best Copies of his Time, and made some Critical Reflections upon several Places of them as Occasion offered ; yet it does not at all appear, he says [f], that what he did of this Kind ever served as a Law or Standard in regard to the New Testament, as it did in respect to the Septuagint of the Old ; for if this had been so, then we should have had, continues he [g], a kind of Mazora for the Text of the New Testament, as the Jews have for that of the Old,

[a] In evolvendis præcipuè Prisci Fæderis mysteriis laudata fit ipsius industria. Huet.

[b] Non eâdem Editione in iis interpretandis usus est. Ibid.

[c] Utebatur sæpenumerò Adamantius Evangelio secundum Hebræos. Hier. de Scrip-tor. Ecclesiæ in Jacobum.

[d] Vid. Crit. Hist. of the N. T. v. 1. p. 337.

[e] Mais il n'a rien fait de semblable sur les livre de Nouveau Testament aussi ne voyons nous point, que les Ecrivains Ecclesiastiques, qui ont vécu apres Origene,

ayent distinguè deux sortes d'Editions du Nouveau Testament, comme ils ont distinguè deux Editions de la Version des septante. Ibid.

[f] Mais il ne nous paroît point, que sa Critique ait servi de loy au regard a ces livres, comme au regard a l'ancienne Version Grecque du vieux Testament, si cela étoit arrivè, nous aurions eu.

[g] Une Massore du Texte Grec des Evangelistes, & des Apôtres, de la meme maniere, que les Juifs en ont une du Texte Ebreu, &c. Ibid.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,

and the Church would have acquiesced in Origen's Text, as the others do in that of their Mazorites.

Dr. Mill makes it evident and certain in *his Prolegomena*, that *the Copies of the New Testament, which Origen made use of, were corrupted and interpolated*, (which may be gathered likewise from St. Jerom himself) and he shews withal, that he *was not curious or exact in his Citations of the Scripture, but often trusted to his Memory, and made use of various Editions, as he happened to have them at hand, and sometimes quoted the same Passage very differently*; and it is hardly credible, that he should leave a *Standard of the genuine Text to the Church, who never had any certain or particular Exemplar of his own, which he made a Standard to himself.*

But should we allow *our Editor*, for Argument's sake, that *Origen* did leave behind him such a *Copy of the New Testament* as he pretends, there is still *another Difficulty* to be got over, *another Question* to be resolved, *viz. how this same Copy can now be retrieved by any Man at this Distance?* The only Way now left of coming at *any Reading of Origen*, is by *collecting all the scatter'd Passages of Scripture, which are to be found in his Works, as well as all other Citations of them, borrowed from him by any of the Ecclesiastical Writers*; but let him search as diligently as he pleases, *all these Passages, when drawn together, cannot possibly make out the fiftieth part of an Exemplar of the New Testament.* Most of *Origen's Works* have been *lost* many Centuries ago; and a *great Part* of what remains of him is preserved only in *Translations* made chiefly by *Ruffinus*, who *altered, abridged and used* them with a great deal of *Freedom*, as he himself owns, which gave Occasion to *Erasmus* to say [*a*], *that we hardly know any thing more of Origen now, than that in some things he was erroneous.* So that *this Notion of retrieving his very Exemplar, must needs appear ridiculous, absurd, and little better than a Contradiction in Terms.*

But let us allow him still farther, that *this Exemplar is even*

[*a*] Ac penè nihil novimus Origenis, nisi quòd in quibusdam erraverit. *Erasm. in script. Eccl. Hieron.*

retrievable; these are still but *previous Points*; the *Merits* of the Cause lie in a *Question of meer Fact*, viz. *Whether he has actually retrieved it or no*; and this can only be determined by an Examination of the *Proof or Instances* he has given us of it in his *Specimen*.

And here I have observed, that he has produced in his Notes no more than three various Readings from Origen; and instead of recovering or retrieving any Part even of these, he has thrown them all aside as false. This without doubt must needs appear very strange to the Reader; but yet the Excuse he here makes for it will, I dare say, seem much more surprising: For to solve this Inconsistency, he tells us, * that these were not the true Readings of * p. 31. Origen, but such as had been vitiated and corrupted by the Transcribers of his Works; not the Words of the Father, but of the Copyers of the Father. To what Purpose then were they at all mentioned or alledged by him? It is his Duty to produce onely the known and allowed Readings of the ancient Writers; much less, such onely, as he knows to have never belonged to them. Is this the Way of retrieving a true Exemplar, by presenting us with nothing more of it, than what he owns to be spurious? Would any Editor in his Senses have quoted onely the corrupted Passages of an Author, even contrary to his own Emendations; if he had known of any true and genuine ones, that would have confirmed and established them? our Critic has here plainly overshot himself, and while he thought it so easie to make a Fool of his Reader, by carrying the Jest too far, has made a Fool onely of himself. I charged him with being inconsistent, in having given us so little of Origen; and he defends himself by proving, that he has really given us nothing at all. Thus, we see, that all this Noise he has been making about Origen, is but another Flourish of his Rhetorick; a meer Banter, and Imposition upon the World; and he, who pretends here to sell us Origen's genuine Exemplar, will be found to mean nothing more than the Man, who mounts a Stage with Hippocrates's genuine Balsam; the one is just as quackish in Divinity, as the other is in Physick.

Some farther REMARKS: In the Proposals,

As for the *rest of this Paragraph*, it is hardly worth while to give my self any further Trouble about it; since our Editor has not offered the least thing *material*, against what I have already remarked upon it. I charged him *with contradicting both himself and common Sense*, in making *that* a Ground of Offence against *Dr. Mill's Edition*, which he had before proved to be *its Advantage and Recommendation*; and when he had shewn *this very Offence* to be most *impertinent and ridiculous*. I observed, how he had made himself *very merry* [a] *with Dr. Whitby's Fears*; *with his greater Zeal than Knowledge*; and *his Concern for the Text*, without knowing the *Meaning of the Word*; and had exposed likewise the *Cavils of the Sceptics*, at the great Number of various Readings, which we see in *that very Edition*; but the *confuting of Freethinkers*, we may fancy perhaps to have been an *easy Task*; but what shall we say to him now when he has *confuted even himself*? For now he will needs fetch us *back again*, and make us believe that *the Learned * Dr. Whitby* had surely Reason to be *alarm'd*; that *the Panic seized the greater Part of the Clergy*; *the poor Churchmen were terrified*; *the Atheists carried all before them*, and had gained in a manner a compleat Victory; and yet, I dare say, there is *not an Atheist or Sceptic of them all*, that does not triumph more at *this Day*, than they have done for *some Years past*, to hear that the *sacred Text* is under the *Correction of his Hand*; and not *one of them*, but would much sooner *subscribe for an Edition of it from him*, than from *any other Critic* in Christendom.

If indeed we were still in the dark upon the Subject of *these various Lectiōns*; and could onely amuse our selves *in general*, about the *strange Difference of the several Copies of the New Testament*, if we could talk onely in the Lump of *thirty thousand various and contrary Readings of the sacred Text* which the Learned had discovered; this indeed might be sufficient to *alarm*, and *offend many good Persons*, who had not been conversant in

* p. 32.

[a] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61.

this kind of Knowledge. But since Dr. Mill has brought *them* all out into the light; and has set the whole Number before us in one clear View; it is impossible that they should any longer either be formidable to the Christian, or serviceable to the Atheist; and they are now so far from giving any just Matter of Offence, that they must necessarily take it away; and the Church must always owe this Service to the Doctor; that her Friends as well as Enemies must now be convinced, that all these Differences, so much talked of, consist onely in meer Trifles and Niceties, of no Moment, Significancy, or Influence as to the Sense of Scripture; and that as our Editor himself has declared [a], no one Article of Faith, or even Moral Precept is either lost or perverted in all the thirty thousand, chuse as awkwardly as you will, chuse the worst by Design. But after all, what a Piece of Grimace is it, to charge Dr. Mill with crowded Pages; with Offence taken at the Number and undistinguished Authority of his Readings, when, as I have before proved from his own Specimen, the charge is much more just against himself in all these very same Instances?

Paragraph the Fourth.

To confirm the Lectons which the Author places in the Text, he makes use of the old Versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic, and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first Five Centuries; and he gives in his Notes all the various Readings (now known) within the said five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the first Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.

REMARKS.

Our Editor tells us here, that I have given him but very little Trouble, for I predict onely, he says, † that his Edition will fall † p. 35.

[a] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61, &c.

short of former ones, which he will leave to the Edition it self to answer ; and I wonder he did not hit upon this Answer much sooner ; for if he had taken the same Course in all the other Paragraphs, he might have saved himself not onely a good deal of Pains, but all that Ignominy which the Malice as well as Ignorance of this Defence of his must necessarily expose him to.

As for the *Edition it self*, I have never pretended to predict, as he calls it, any thing at all about it, but what rises naturally and necessarily from his *own Account and Description of it*. I have undertaken onely to shew, that if it *be like its Picture*, which *he himself* has presented to the Publick, it must needs be a *bungling, uselefs, and contemptible Performance* ; and that particularly, as it is proposed and described to us in *this very Paragraph*, it will *fall far short* of what Dr. Mill has already executed in his *Edition*.

This I proved from *our Editor's own Account* of what the Doctor had done, compared with what *he* now pretends to in *this Proposal before us* ; and here indeed I have truly saved him *some Trouble* ; having not left him the *least Syllable* to reply to it ; the thing is a *Demonstration*. He promises here to make use onely of *four Versions* ; whereas Dr. Mill has *actually made use of seven* : He pretends onely to give *the Readings of five Centuries* ; the Doctor has *actually produced the Readings of fifteen*.

† Ibid.

But he takes it † *heinously* of me, that I will not allow him to understand a *Tittle of the four Versions* he makes use of, and thinks it very hard, that *this Defect* should be charged as a *Reflection* upon him, which was never imputed as such to Dr. Mill, who *fairly and frankly professes in his Prolegomena that he knew nothing of the Oriental Tongues*. But here we may observe, by the Way, the *different Characters* of these *two Rival Editors* ; the one scorns to assume *any Merit*, which he has not a *just Right and Title* to ; the other scorns to allow *any Merit* to be in any other Man but *himself* : The one thinks it becomes him to *confess his Ignorance* of what he does not understand ; the other thinks it a *Reflection* to be said to be ignorant of any thing. But sup-

posing

posing *them both* to be entirely equal as to this Point, yet surely, I say, *seven Versions* must always be thought more considerable, than *only four of them*: But he would fain know how I come to be so certain of his Ignorance of all these Languages. This I allow to be a very reasonable Question; and shall always be content to be looked upon as a Libeller, and exposed accordingly, whenever I am found *positive*, without *very sufficient Vouchers*. Since therefore he desires it, I will tell him for once, how I came to know it *so certainly*. When I was a *Candidate for a Fellowship in his College*, I offered my self to be examined by him in *Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac*, which at that time I had taken some Pains about; but I was much disappointed to find that he would not undertake to examine me in any of them; tho' for a Cover of his Ignorance, he told me then *the same Story* he does now, of the famous *Hexapla* he had composed, when he was in a Manner but a Boy. Some Years after this, at the Election of an *Hebrew Professor in the University*, where he was likewise a very active Elector and Examiner, he never pretended, as I was informed, to examine the Candidates in the Oriental Languages; but called only for a *Pindar* to puzzle them with, as the properest Way of trying the Merit of an *Hebrew Professor*. This, I presume, will be enough to justify what I have said on this Occasion; and he has not, we see, after all, the Courage to deny it directly; having nothing more to say for himself, than that he understood a good deal of the Matter *near forty Years ago*.

I had observed likewise in this Paragraph a direct and evident Contradiction between the Specimen and the Proposals; for though he promises here to give in his Notes all the known Readings of the five first Centuries, yet he has omitted several Authorities within that Period, which Dr. Mill had taken notice of, as Hilarius, Ireneus, Tertullian, v. 2. 5. 14. besides some of the old Versions; and instead of confining himself, as he pretends, to those first Ages of the Church, he makes as much use of some Authorities of inferior Date as of all the others put together; more particularly Aretbas, a Writer of uncertain Age, who, as all Au-

* p. 42.

thors agree, could not *be earlier than about the middle of the sixth Century*, tho' placed by some *as low as the tenth*; yet our Editor roundly affirms him * *to have flourished in the fourth or fifth*. Gregory Palamas, another of his Authorities, is *truly a modern one of the fourteenth Century*, and he condescends even to be greatly obliged to our printed Editions; to all which he has not thought fit to make the *least Reply* in his Answer.

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity, with some Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requisite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities subjoined in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the smallest Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.

REMARKS.

† p. 36.

I have already given the Reader *some proper Hints*, how to judge of our Editor's Pretensions to the Characters here given of a good Scripture-Editor; but tho' he takes no notice of the rest, he lays hold however on the Concession I had made, that *his whole Life had been spent in Critical Niceties and Grammatical Observations on prophane Authors*, and for this, he says, † *he is the fitter to give an Edition of the New Testament*; but I will venture to say even quite the contrary, that for this he is very unfit to give any Edition of it at all.

And here his old Friend St. Jerom happens to leave him in the lurch; but that's no Matter, he'll say; for he never yet valued any Friend who would not go *thorough Stitch* with him. St. Jerom, as we may see in the Passage of my Title-page, tells us a Story of *full as great a Critic as himself*, that was *so entirely engag-*
ed

ed in the Study of Classical Letters, that he knew just nothing at all of the Holy Scriptures, and yet like our Editor too, must needs be exposing his Ignorance by prating and meddling with what he did not understand. Our Editor, we know, spent above ten Years (the best and most vigorous of his Life) in giving onely an Edition of Horace; and what is this, but in the Expression of a Learned Author,

Solido decennio infelicissimè & sine fructu nugari.

For tho' this be the *most allowed and celebrated Instance of his Learning*, yet a great Part of his Time and Pains was employed, as I could easily make appear, in *depraving and corrupting the Text of his Author, for want of understanding him*: and the *unwarrantable Freedoms* he has taken with *profane Authors*, will be so far from recommending him, that they must make all Men of Sense afraid of *trusting him with the Correction of the Sacred ones*. But let him be never *such an Editor of Classics*, yet what's all this to an *Edition of the New Testament*? Or, as St. Jerom says [a], *What has Horace to do with the Psalms? Virgil with the Gospels? or Cicero with the Apostles?* Every body knows what a Difference and Contrariety there is between the *one and the other*; not onely in their *Sentiments*, but in their *Stile*, or Manner of expressing them; and an *Editor* who seems so fond of making the *Apostles* * speak *pure, polite and elegant Greek*; whilst he is intent upon * p. 37. giving us a *correct Text*, must necessarily give us a *new one*.

I am very far from being an *Enemy to Classical Letters*; and look upon them, not onely as *ornamental*, but highly *useful*, and even *necessary to a Divine*; but still I must affirm, that *this kind of Learning alone, without Skill and Experience in the Sacred and Apostolical Writings*, is so far from qualifying a Man for an *Editor of the New Testament*, that it will necessarily lead him into *Error*

[a] Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius? cum Evangeliiis Maro? cum Apostolis Cicero? Hier. ad Eustoch.

and *Mistake*, and make him onely *corrupt the Text*, whilst he pretends to be *mending it*.

We cannot have a *surer Proof* and *Demonstration* of what I am asserting, than from *our Editor himself*, who, in his *Controversy with the honourable Mr. Boyle, about Phalaris's Epistles*, had confidently asserted, that *ὑποδιδωμι* never signified giving before, but onely betraying; that *διώκω* never signified simply following after, but onely pursuing as a persecutor; that *θυγατέρες* never signified Maidens or Women in general, but onely Daughters; and tho' these Observations might perhaps be generally true as to *profane Authors*, yet they were found to be certainly false in the *sacred ones*, as appeared by many Instances brought from the *Gospels and Epistles*; upon which the Learned and Ingenious Author makes [a] this very just Reflection, that *so profound a Græcian and Divine should have looked a little into the New Testament, before he had pronounced such rash and groundless Assertions*.

Our Editor however, to make good his Argument, tells us,
 * P. 36. * *that the World has seen enough what poor Work is made in this kind by meer Theologues without Classical Letters. A Theologue, we see, is of all Creatures most contemptible to him; how does he wipe him at every turn with old Conscience †, Casuistical Drudge *, Splitter of Cases †? &c.* Nay, his Friends tell us plainly, that *these Theologues* are so very silly as not to subscribe for his Edition, and so must needs make *poor Work* on't indeed by *preaching on* still out of the *old dull Text* of Stephens or Mill.

† P. 35.

* P. 22.

† P. 42.

Yet what *Theologues* are *these*, I would fain know, who have made *such wretched Work in their Editions of the Scriptures*? The World, I am sure, has been as much obliged to *some of them* in this Way, as to any Men who have yet appeared in it; and owes the *noblest Editions of the Bible* now extant to the *Learning and Industry of meer Theologues*. This may be proved by such an Authority, as he himself cannot dispute, even his *own Words*; for

[a] Vid. Dissertation upon *Phalaris's Epist.* examined by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, p. 68.

in his *Remarks on Freethinking*, he says [a], *As Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, &c. when they designed to publish a correct Edition of an Author, first laboured to procure all the Manuscripts they could bear of, as the only Means that promised laudable Success; so Stephanus, Junius, Circellæus, Walton, Fell, and Mill proceeded in the same Method. All these, except Stephens, says he, were Christian Priests, that is, as profound, true Theologues as ever were. But we see how desirous he is to make up Matters with these Freethinkers, and for the civil things he once said of the Priests, resolves to make them Amends by paying off the poor Theologues.*

But he checks * me here very properly with having forgot that* p. 36. he had *preached eight Sermons about thirty Years ago at Mr. Boyle's Lectures; and he might have added two more since that time, one at Court, the other at the University.* How therefore could his *whole Life be spent in Critical Niceties?* The Reflection I own to be just, *the Sermons were quite out of my Head; but since he has put me in mind of them, I must do him the Justice to confess, that they are undeniable Proofs of his profound Skill and great Experience in Theological Learning; and it is well for him he went no farther; for he might otherwise have been in danger of passing for as meer a Theologue as his two Predecessors Barrow and Pearson.*

And now he is very severe upon me for the *Choice of * my** p. 36. *Motto in the Title-page of my Remarks: For whilst I thought to have given a Hint by it, how our Critic was like to lay about him, in mangling the sacred Text, Peter Burman, it seems, from whose Oration it was taken, was all the while only in Jest; but what's that to the Purpose, except he could prove me to have been in Jest too? If a Dutch Orator will needs be talking Sense the wrong Way, why may not I take the Liberty of turning it to the Right?* The Sense of a *Motto* is not, I presume, to be looked for only in the Author from whom it was borrowed, but in the *Application of the Borrower.* But he thanks me kindly † for my mention of Peter † Ibid. Burman, and takes the Opportunity of paying his Compliments

upon this Oration of his, which, he says, is a very fine one in its Way, all writ in Lucian's Manner, a thorough Irony and Jeer. And it is indeed as thorough a Jeer as ever yet appeared, and as dull an one too, upon the Church, the Clergy, and every thing serious and sacred in the Practice and Principles of both; it is just, as he tells us, to let his Audience know, that to make a profound Theologue there's no need of any Skill at all, either in Languages, or History, or Eloquence, or Critic.

* p 37.

We have one feeble Fling more, says he, * and this Paragraph is done; and yet this feeble Fling, which he makes so light of, is nothing less than a glaring Contradiction between his Specimen and Proposals. He declares that he will not alter one Letter in the Text, without Authorities subjoined in the Notes; and yet I have shewn that he has altered many Letters in the Greek, without subjoining any Authorities; and made a verbal Emendation in the third Verse of the Latin, even contrary to all the Authorities he ever saw. As to the first, he says, † that the Reason of Literal Emendations could not be made appear in this short Specimen; as if his Specimen, let it be as short as he pleases, had not as much Room in Proportion, as as any other Part, or the whole of his Edition. But observe a little, how acutely he defends himself. He had undertaken to subjoin the Reason of every literal Alteration; but now he says, 'twas not to be done; the Reason of such Alterations could not be made appear, that is, I had charged him with a Contradiction, and he owns that he had promised an Impossibility. As to the verbal Emendation, tho' he had, he says, no Manuscript for it, yet he had such cogent Reason as is equal to Authority. But to shew him, that I have no Mind to quarrel with him merely for Letters, or an Alteration or two of the Latin Text, I will produce a Greek Emendation he has made, [v. 8.] viz. ἐλεψα changed by him into ἐλεπον, in all the three Editions of his Proposals, without the least Syllable subjoined in the Notes, either of any Authorities, or any of his cogent Reasons. But there might not perhaps be room enough for this neither within the Compass of so short a Specimen; and this indeed must be said for him, that no Editor ever contrived to husband his little Room

† Ibid.

more dextrously; for *many of his Emendations* appear with no longer Train or Attendance after them, than that onely of a single Manuscript.

Paragraph the Sixth.

If the Author has any thing to suggest towards a Change of the Text, not supported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it separate in his Prolegomena; in which will be a large Account of the several MSS. here used, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition useful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Design is to serve the whole Christian Name. He draws no Consequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any disputed Points, old or new. He consecrates this Work as a κειμήλιον, a πῦμα ἑσπεῖ, a Charter, a Magna Charta, to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the Ancient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished.

REMARKS.

Our Editor is here very severe upon me for being so mute * * P. 37. where so fair an Occasion was given me of displaying my Parts, and for taking no notice of the plausible Topics he had thrown in my Way, viz. *Emendations and mere Conjectures, not supported by any Copies now extant; of no Sect or Party; no Regard to any disputed Points. The Topics, I own, are good and fruitful; but they did not at that time come at all within the Scheme or Design of my Remarks. He was here giving us an Account onely of what he designed to do in his Prolegomena, a Work, which we have not yet seen any Specimen of; and my Business was onely to dispute about Fact, and to meddle no farther with his Edition, than as it was exhibited and appeared in his Proposals; however, if we live to see his Prolegomena published, he will hardly have any Reason to complain of my neglecting him; for I shall be very ready to do him Justice on the Occasion, and let his Subscribers know what a Penny-worth they have got for their Money. But is it not strange in the mean while, that he should be so smart upon me in one Part of this*

this Paragraph, of which I had not taken the least Notice, and yet have nothing at all to say to me *in the other*, of which I had taken so much? Is not this like a *true Bully*, to vapour and swagger when the Coast was clear, yet sneak presently out of sight as soon an Adversary appeared? And yet I had said enough here, one would think, to make it *scandalous* for him to be silent, either as a *Critic* or a *Christian*; I had proved upon him a *manifest Blunder* and *Solecism* in the Use and Application he had made of a *Classical Greek Word*; I had shewn *his Insolence* to be but little short of *Blasphemy*, in the Stile he assumed of *granting Charters to the Christian Church*; all which he thinks sufficiently answered by calling it an *aukward Ridicule upon Κεφάλιον and Magna Charta*.

We have had *Great and Learned Editors of the Bible* from all the principal Countries of *Europe*; but I desire e'er a *Gascon, Italian, or Spaniard* of them all to shew me such a piece of *true, genuine Rhodomontade* as this very *Paragraph*.

Having already shewn us how *accurate and correct* he is in the Use of his *Greek and Latin*, he comes now to give us a *Specimen* of the great Propriety of his *English*: For in *this Paragraph*, having promised *Immortality to his Labours*, he tells us, *that his Edition is to last, when all the ancient MSS. are to be extinguished*. This *Extinction of Manuscripts* I have, it seems, cavilled at in my *Remarks*, as a *barbarous Phrase*. But I cannot make our *Critic* apprehend, that I mean any *Solecism* or *Abjurdity in the Expression*, but a *Cruelty* onely and *Barbarity in the Thought of extinguishing Manuscripts*; it cannot enter into his Head, that *to extinguish*, is properly applicable onely to *Fire*, either *real* or *metaphorical*; either the thing it self, or something *analogous to it*; but he still blunders along for a *whole Paragraph* together, to prove by many *Instances of History*, that as *cruel* as the Thought is, it is however a *true one*; and that *Manuscripts have really been extinguished* in several Ages and Countries by *Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks*. Some of his Instances are *pleasantly ridiculous*; the *Library of Alexandria*, says he, * *consisted of nothing else but Manuscripts?* and were not the *Manuscripts extinguished when the Library was burnt?* Again,

Again, whence have we our famous Manuscript at Cambridge? Was it not from a Monastery in Lions? And how could ours have been preserved, when the Monastery was plundered, if its Manuscripts had not been extinguished? From these Premisses he concludes, that our Master's Thought is not so barbarous, as our Censor's Cavil is ignorant and silly.

The Reader must needs think him strangely *destitute of Friends*, that he had no body near to *advise him* on this Occasion; to hinder his exposing himself at this Rate. Where was *his Overseer and Corrector Mr. John Walker*? Why could not he let him know, that the World would never endure *such Trumpery*? Somebody should indeed be *so free*, as to tell him that he is *now grown old*; that *his Parts and Learning* are plainly *running upon the Dregs*; that 'tis time for him *to have done*, and think of *quitting the Stage*, before he be quite *kissed off*.

Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

To publish this Work, according to its Use and Importance, a great Expence is requisite: It's design'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, but with the best Letter, Paper, and Ink that Europe affords. It must therefore be done by Subscription or Contribution. As it will make Two Tomes in Folio, the Lowest Subscription for Smaller Paper must be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in present; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.

The Work will be put to the Press, as soon as Money is contributed to support the Charge of the Impression; and no more Copies will be Printed than are subscribed for. The Overseer and Corrector of the Press will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER of Trinity-College in Cambridge; who with great Accuratencs has collated many MSS. at Paris for the present Edition. And the Issue of it, whether Gain or Loss, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.

REMARKS.

From these two Paragraphs I have observed, how this great
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† p. 38.

and *glorious Design*, under Pretence of doing Service to common Christianity, dwindled here at last into a *meer Money-Project*, contrived and pursued only for *Gain* and *filthy Lucre*. Our Editor, in his Answer, laughs onely at my *Simplicity*, for being *filly enough* to imagine, that there could be any thing else in it: For without that indeed, says he, † *what Sense, what Use in Proposals?* We would have had him published, I warrant ye, *some whining, canting Advertisement*, to beg the Advice onely and Assistance of the Learned; to desire no other Contributions than of Manuscripts and Materials, proper for so great and pious a Design, No, no; he knows too well the Sense and Use of Proposals; and it cannot be denied but that those now before us are the most compleat in their Kind, the most effectual for carrying on the Learned and Laudable Trade of begging, that ever before appeared. How artfully does he barter and higgler with us here, to quicken the Market, and gain his Price upon us? But of this I have already said enough in my former Remarks.

* p. 20.

However, since he has been so kind, as to let us into the Secret of the true Use and Sense of Proposals, viz. the begging Subscriptions, I shall in return give him a piece of Advice, which he may probably find Reason to thank me for; that is, to get his Proposals read in Churches by way of Brief on Sundays. This, I am confident, must be the ready Way of making the best Penny of them; he may easily try the Experiment in his own Archdeaconry; and in making the Essay, * must needs reap glorious Fruits of his Sagacity and his Labour; for twenty Churches burnt to the Ground can never draw our Money from us so freely, as the doing so signal a piece of Service to the whole Christian Name.

SPECIMEN. See the Specimen in my former Remarks.

REMARKS.

We are now come to a Review of his Specimen; where our Editor makes himself very merry with what I have said about his borrowing all his Materials from Dr. Mill: For he demonstrates † by

† p. 40, &c.

by a *nice* and *curious* Calculation, that of *sixty* Emendations, which he has made in the Text, the Doctor agrees with him *onely* in four; *dissents* from him in three; *starts* one *contemned* by our Master; who has *fifty-two* *yet* remaining *entire* to himself, his own proper Goods and Chattels.

Vide quantum timeam cachinnos tuos ut etiam nunc eadem ingeram. Hieron.

But he may *laugh* as much as he thinks fit, I shall however stick to *my Point*, and give him the Pleasure of affirming *once more*, that *all his Materials* are *borrowed*, or *stolen*, or *plunder'd*, call it which he pleases, from *Dr. Mill's Magazine*.

The Doctor's Design in his Edition, was, as I have before observed, to subjoin to *Stephens's Text* all the *various Readings* now known, with their *distinct Authorities*. This *our Editor* calls a *Promptuary to the Judicious and Critical Reader*; and from this *Promptuary* has taken *every single Reading*, without *one Exception*, of all *those fifty-two* which he so confidently calls *his own*. And what is this, I would fain know, but *stealing from Dr. Mill*? Was ever *any Theft* more evident, or more fully proved than this? *The Goods* are found upon him; are known to be *Dr. Mill's*; and he himself has *owned the Fact*.

There's another of his *Remarkable Contradictions* very proper to be taken notice of here. He told us, we know, and took a great deal of Pains to prove it, that *Dr. Mill had put all his various Readings upon equal Credit to the great Offence of many good Persons*; yet now he has been labouring for a *whole Page* together *, to * p. 41. prove *just the contrary*; that he was so far from putting all his Readings upon equal Credit, that in this *single Chapter of the Specimen*, he had distinguished four of them as true; three others as false; and one as dubious.

But our Editor informs † us here, that his Design in this Edition, is no more than to give us an accurate or authentic Greek Text, † p. 40. or as he explains it in another Place, * to restore the Text to Truth, * p. 32.

† F. 26.

Certainty and Order; a Design truly *modest* and *worthy of himself*. He designs onely to *do that*, in relation *to the Greek*; which he had charged as a kind of *Impiety* upon the † *Papists*, for executing onely in the *Latin*, viz. the *authorizing and authenticating a particular Edition*. Out of the *Plenitude of his Power*, and by his *single Authority* he declares his own *Greek Text Authentic*; yet will not allow to *two successive Popes* [a] *assisted by the most Learned Men of Europe*, and backed by a *Council*, to declare the *same of a poor Latin one*. Nay, he goes much farther than the *Church of Rome*; for his *Edition* must not onely be *authentic*, but *accurate too*; whereas the *Council of Trent* contented themselves with making the *Vulgate Version authentic* to the *People*, but did not pretend to call it *accurate* or without *Faults*, but quite the *contrary*.

* P. 42.

† F. 33, 34.

Rob. Stephens's Edition of the New Testament has been universally received and acquiesced in by all *People*, *Protestants* as well as *Papists*; tho' not as the *very Original Infallible Text*, yet as in the main a *very correct one*, or at least not *grossly corrupt and imperfect*. Nay, *our Editor himself* has formerly given it the high *Character of a beautiful and generally speaking accurate Edition*, which, as he says [b], *has ever since been counted a Standard, and followed by all the rest*. Yet after all, he now pretends to have discovered in this *very Text of Stephens* * *above sixty Faults, within the Compass of one and twenty Verses*. If this *Proportion* be observed *through the whole*, what a *monstrous Number* must the *Corruptions* amount to? They must make at least, I dare say, *twenty thousand*. And is not this *absurd and incredible a priori*, as he calls it? Is it not a *direct Contradiction in Terms*, that an *Edition* should be generally *accurate*, and yet so *scandalously faulty*? Must not the *Christian World* have been *infatuated* and *himself too*, for admiring so long an *Edition as correct*, which appears at last, to be *more corrupt and interpolated*, than even the *very vilest* of all the recent, † *scrub, and scoundril Manuscripts* he talks of?

[a] Vid. Serm. on Popery.

[b] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 68.

But we shall soon see a good Account of this Difficulty, and how easy it is to find *such Faults* as he does, with *Stephens*, or any other *Editor* whatsoever, by examining *some* of his *principal Emendations*, that are to make *this Text* of his so accurate and authentic. I had taken notice of *one of them*, in my *Remarks*, as a *Taste of his great Sagacity and Judgment*; but this he is pleased to call † a *nauseous Taste of my own Arrogance and Pedantry*. In † p. 42. the second Verse of his *Specimen* he has put ἐν|εὔθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν] into the *Text*, instead of ἐν|εὔθεν καὶ ἐν|εὔθεν] which all other *Editors* but himself had preferred as the *genuine Reading*. Now this *Alteration of his* is so far from adding any *Accuracy or Correctness* to the *Text*, that I will maintain it to be a *downright Corruption* of it; a *meer Blunder of his own*, for want of his *Characters requisite*; * *Judgment and Experience in the Stile and Writings of the* * p. 31. *Apostle*. I have observed, that the *Phrase is a pure Hebraism*, and that the *Hebrews* have no other *Way* of expressing themselves on the *Occasion*, but by a *Repetition of the same Word*; of which I gave a few *Instances*. But here he tells us, † with his *usual Wit* † p. 42. and *Smartness*, that my *three Hebrew Particles*, when *stript of their Garb*, are no more, than *Mizzch umizzch; Mippo umippo; Henab wehenab*; and I should have wondered indeed very much, if they had proved to be *any thing else*; it is just as witty, as to say, that his *boasted Criticism*, when *stript of its Grecian Dress*, is no more at last, than *enteuthen kai ekeithen*. But let them look as *simple and naked* as he pleases; I am however content with finding them to be *just what I could wish them; just what I designed them; and just enough for my Purpose*.

It being allowed then, that the *Hebrews* always express this *Phrase* in the *Old Testament*, by repeating the *same Word*; I observed next, that the *Septuagint* likewise in their *Translation* follow the same *Manner in Greek*, rendring it by ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα; ἐν|εὔθεν καὶ ἐν|εὔθεν. It is therefore highly probable, that *St. John*, who was a *Hebrew*, should preserve the *constant Idiom* of his *Native Language*, and when writing *Greek*, should (as all the other *Apostles* generally do)

copy after *the Stile of the Septuagint*. The Critics tell us [a] besides, *that St. John of all the other Sacred Writers, abounds more particularly in Hebrew Phrases, and that to understand the Sense of his Writings, it is as necessary to know Hebrew as Greck it self*; which gave me Occasion to say, *that it is not possible to imagine, that he could use any other Phrase in this Place, than the old Reading which our Critic has rejected*. But to make this Point still plainer, I will prove it to him for once in *his own Way* of Reasoning which he is every where *so fond of*; and shew him, that besides these *Arguments a priori*, which are as strong and convincing as the Nature of such Proof will admit, we have *Fact and Demonstration a posteriori* to prove the Truth of what I am asserting: For in the *only other Place of this Apostle's Writings*, where he has Occasion to use *this Phrase*, he uses likewise *the very same Words* ἐντεῦθεν & ἐντεῦθεν, [John xix. 18.] without any *disputed or various Reading* at all upon it. But this *our Editor* takes not the *least notice of*, thinking it either of *too little Moment* to be answered by him, or of *too much*; the Reader may judge which.

* P. 42.

And now let us consider, what he has to say in *Defence of his Reading*. He first tells us, * *that the Sense of either does not differ in a Tittle*, which is so far from being an *Excuse* for him, that it is even *quite the contrary*: For what Occasion had he then to *change a Passage*, which *all the Editors before him* had allowed to be *genuine*; and which is the *constant Phrase* of the *sacred Writers*; in order to *joist in a new Expression* of his own, which is not so much *as once* to be found in *all the Scriptures*, either of the *Old or New Testament*? He tells us besides, † *that St. Jerom in his Latin Version of the Hebrew, varied the Phrase, and translated* [mippo umippo] *ten times* [hinc & inde] *for once* [hinc & hinc]. And what does he get by this, but to prove *only that this Father, in his Translation, did not in Fact stick so closely to the very Words*, as he would make us believe; and that if we were to fol-

† Ibid.

[a] Minus quàm cæteri Evangelistæ non minus quàm Græci, ad sensum sententiarum Græcè locutus est; Hebraicis phrasibus tiarum assequendum sit necessaria. Caasundat, ut Hebraici Sermonis peritia, dinal. Tolet. Argum. Comm. in Joan.

low his *Latin* so scrupulously, as he would persuade us, it would, as I have said, lead us onely to *corrupt*, instead of *correcting the Text*? But his main Excuse is, that he was governed here by *Authority*, in the making the *Alteration*; that is, he found eight *Manuscripts*, as he shews in his *Notes*, which declared for it; and yet he might find without doubt, if he pleases, at least twice the Number declaring against it. But supposing still, that all the Copies were agreed in his Favour, yet in the third Verse of the *Latin*, we find him over-ruling the united Testimony of all the *Manuscripts in the World*, for Reasons which he calls as convincing * and cogent as any *Authority*; and yet he will not pretend that * p. 37. those Reasons are half so cogent, as what I have produced in this very Instance directly against him. But he has had an Opportunity, he tells us, † to hear one of the best Judges in England say, after he † p. 40. had carefully read over his Specimen, that of his sixty Changes of the Text, there was not one but what should be there, as every knowing Man would allow. And yet here I will still join issue with him; and if he can produce one Man (excepting two or three of Trinity-College) that passes either for a wise or learned one, who will declare this very Emendation to be just, and preferable to the old Reading; nay, who will not own it to be spurious and corrupt; I promise not to say one Word more against his Edition, nay to be content even to subscribe for it my self.

In the 8th Verse, we find in Stephens's Text, καὶ ὅτε ἦκεσα καὶ ἐβλεψα ἔπεισα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τῆ ἀγγέλου] where, as I have already observed, he has changed [ἐβλεψα into ἐβλεπον] contrary, we see, to the Construction of the two other Verbs, to which it is joined in the same Sentence, immediately before and after it, and yet without assigning the least Reason, or producing so much as a single Authority for it; but whilst he is altering here so arbitrarily, it is strange that he should take no notice of the very next Word [ἔπεισα] a Word, so far from being one of his polite and elegant ones, that it can hardly be accounted Greek; and tho' we find it sometimes in the Scripture, yet never, I believe, without a various Lction; and in this very Place the Complutensian Edition and some Manuscripts have instead of it ἔπεσον. But

But the *chief Emendation* we find here is still the *most unaccountable*; being evidently *false and ridiculous*, viz. *πρὸ ποδῶν* instead of *ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν*] the *Hebrew Phrase* on this Occasion is, *before the Face of his Feet*. St. John sometimes uses the *very Hebraism*; as Rev. iii. 9. *προσκυνήσωσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου*.] sometimes *that*, which comes the *nearest to it*; the *very Expression*, which our Editor here *rejects*, as in this *same Book of Revelations*, xix. 10. *καὶ ἔπεσον ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσαι*] without any *difference of Reading*, observed upon it in *any Author or Manuscript* whatsoever. But our *judicious Critic*, without any *Regard to*, or indeed any *Notion of the Apostolic Style*, has thought fit to change the *Phrase of the Text*, into [*πρὸ ποδῶν*] an *Expression wholly unknown to the sacred Penmen*; not *once* to be met with in the *New Testament*; and yet he has *no better Authority* for the *strange Freedom* he is pleased to take, than *that of a single Manuscript*. But his *old Argument*, *scribe meo periculo*; which is of so much *Use to him in his Criticisms on profane Authors*; must be understood likewise here, to supply the *Defect of his other cogent Reasons*.

In the 5th Verse, instead of the common Reading *καὶ χρεῖαν ἐκ ἔχουσιν λύχνης καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου*] he has given us, *καὶ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνης καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου*] with what *Justice* I shall not at present examine; all that I would now observe upon it is, that for the *Support of this Alteration* he has *falsly alledged the Authority of the Coptic Version*; which I find to be *directly against him*, as appears by the *Translation of it*, published by Dr. Wilkins, where this *Passage* runs thus; *neque opus habent lumine in illâ, neque lumine solis*.

In this Verse likewise the *common Editions* have *φωτίζει αὐτοὺς*] *illuminat illos*; which our Editor has thought fit to change with no great Reason, into *φωτίσει illuminabit*] but this might perhaps have been allowed him, if it were not for the *other Part of his Emendation*, supported by the *slender Authority of a single Manuscript only and a Modern Greek Author*, viz. *φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς*, instead of *αὐτοὺς*] which is another *new Phrase of his own*, never *once* made use of by the *sacred Writers*, who constantly express themselves without *one Instance* that I can find to the contrary, in the *very*

Form and Manner of Construction, which he here rejects; as St. John again particularly, in the *Chapter before the Specimen*, xxi. 23. ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν] and in his Gospel, i. 9. φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον] Surely there never was a truer κακοζηλία than this; a more senseless, absurd Affectation of altering contrary to all Reason, Judgment and Authority, as if the Merit of an Edition depended merely on the Number of the Alterations it exhibited; but he had a Mind, I presume, to demonstrate by Experiment the Truth of an Assertion he had formerly made [a], that if we were to put all the thirty thousand Readings into the Hands of a Knave or a Fool, yet with the most sinistrous and absurd Choice he could not extinguish the Light of any one Chapter.

In the 11th Verse we read, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθείτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω] where instead of [δικαιωθείτω] he has put [δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω] into the Text, as the *Complutensian Editors* had done before him. But tho' there is, I confess, the Shew of great Authority for the Truth of this Emendation, yet it seems still very clear to me, that [δικαιωθείτω] is the true, original Reading; and that the other crept pretty early into the Text from the Margin, where it had been placed by way of Paraphrase or Explication; which Dr. Mill has intimated likewise in his Notes as his Opinion. It is to such Marginal Notes, as I have before observed, that we owe most of the Interpolations of the sacred Text: And 'tis likewise hardly credible that a Phrase of so difficult and obscure Meaning as [δικαιωθείτω] could ever juggle out of its Place, one that was clear and obvious, and which no Transcriber could boggle at; but the contrary is very probable, and very common, in all such Cases, throughout the Scriptures. The Latin Translator, whose Business was to regard the Sense, would naturally give us what he found in the Margin, or what occurred perhaps to himself as the only Meaning of the Passage; and so might prove afterwards the main Authority for taking into the Text, what at first was but a Paraphrase upon it. But what above all confirms me in this Opi-

[a] Vid. Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 76.

nion, is the *very Authority of St. Cyprian*, which *our Editor* hath produced to *confirm the contrary*. He tells us, that *St. Cyprian interprets this Passage* by [*justus justiora faciat adhuc*] But he either does not know, or is pleased to conceal, how the *last Part* of the Sentence is likewise *rendred* by him, *viz.* [*similiter & qui sanctus est sanctiora*] which makes it *evident and certain* that *both the Branches* of this Sentence stood in the *same Form and Construction* with each other in *St Cyprian's Copy*; and that [*ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω*] was read as *undoubtedly by him*, as [*ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω*] which last no body disputes.

But what is *most remarkable* in this Place, is to find him *once more falsely producing the Authority of the Coptic Version*, in Confirmation of *this Reading*; when it is in *Fact directly contrary* to it; agreeing altogether with *that of Stephens*, as translated by the *Gentleman* above-mentioned, *viz.* [*justus justificet se, sanctus sanctificet se*] thus like an *experienced Officer*, by a *false Muster-roll* of Authorities, he gains the *Pay and Credit* of Forces, he cannot produce; but he was confident here, again, I warrant ye, that by *keeping his own Counsel*, he should have *rendred* all Discovery impracticable, yet the Observation was made and communicated to his Friends, (as I was accidentally informed) by a *Learned Foreigner* residing at *Oxford*, who was without doubt not a *little surprized* to catch an *Editor of the New Testament* (if we could believe it to have been wilful or designed) in such a *Fact and Instance* of so plain a *Falsification*. 'Tis such a *scandalous Imposition* upon the World, as every *ingenuous Person* must needs abhor; if other Writers were to allow themselves such Liberties, what *Faith*, what *Credit* could there be among *Men of Letters*? But if any one will chuse rather to look upon it as a *pure Mistake*, and (what our Editor will hardly thank him for) to have been done *ignorantly*; 'tis however such a *gross Instance of Negligence*, as could not be excused in the *Edition of a profane Author*; much less in a *Design so important* as this, where the *Blunder* must be perpetrated to *latest Posterity*, in a *Work already consecrated by its Author*, as a *Charter, and Magna Charta to the whole Christian Church*.

When

When our Editor shall find himself able to answer these *further Remarks* upon his *Specimen and Proposals*, I shall endeavour to exercise him still, with a *few more* of the same Kind. In the mean while, the Reader cannot help seeing through the *shallow Artifice* of his taking the *last Chapter of the Revelations*, for the *Specimen of his Edition*; to persuade us, that the *whole Work* is already done, and nothing wanting but the Encouragement of *Contributions* for the sending of it to the *Press*. This, he imagined, would make the *World crowd in* upon him with their *Subscriptions*, to secure to themselves as early as possible a *Treasure so valuable*. Yet it is more than probable, that this is the *only Chapter of the Book*, which he has so much as attempted: For we may gather from an *unwary Confession* he made, when * *excusing the Blunders of his* * p. 19. *Specimen*; that he has not yet wrote out the *first foul Draught of his Design*. But as he learnedly expresses himself, † *Res ipsa loquetur*, the *Work will shew it self*: For if he had got thro' the *rest of the New Testament*, or had but *read it over*, with common Care and Observation, he could not have acquitted himself here so blunderingly; or if he had examined *only the very Writings of St. John*, he could not possibly have mistaken ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν: φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς: προσκυνήσας πρὸ ποδῶν: For the *Stile of the Apostle*.

And now, after all the Pains and Labour of this mighty Critic, he is like to leave the *sacred Text* just as *disputable* and *uncertain* as he found it; and it will still be as easy for other People to make free with and expose his *Readings*, as it was for him to find fault with *Stephens's*; whilst all the Service that the *Christian World* can expect from this *celebrated Performance*, is to have the *Text of Scripture* made *strange, awkward, and new to us*, by a *Number of Alterations*; many of which will be found at last to be *false*; more *questionable*; and all (by his own *Confession*) *insignificant*.

Our Editor concludes his Book with a very subtle *Dilemma*, or one of his *cleft-stick* * *Arguments*, that catches a Man on both sides. * p. 54. If they will needs, says he, *attack an Edition before it's begun*, let them put their Names to their *Work*; if they do not, they shall have

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals &c.

† P. 9.

no Answer ; and if they do, they will need none. † I have already had the Honour of an Answer from him, even without my Name ; but the Discovery of it, I find, is like to alter the Case, and make me forfeit at once all Merit and Pretence to the same Favour again. Being conscious however of *no Offence* that my Name has ever given ; nor of any Infamy upon it, to make it odious to any Man but himself, I am not at all ashamed of producing it. And since it is, as he says, † *to die with me, and be buried shortly in Oblivion ;* he must excuse me the reasonable Ambition of making the most I can of it whilst I live ; and that I may have some Chance for being known likewise to Posterity ; I am resolved to fasten my self upon him, and stick as close to him as I can, in hopes of being dragged at least by his great Name out of my present Obscurity, and of finding some Place, though an humble one, in the future Annals of his Story.

And being willing, before we part, to give him all the Encouragement I can towards answering me, I here promise, that let him be as severe or scurrilous as he pleases upon my Person, Morals or Learning, I will not make my self so mean, as to take the Law of him, or prosecute, Printer, Publisher, or Author ; I shall be content to vindicate my Character with the proper Weapons of a Scholar, and do my self Justice as well as I can ; being ambitious of no greater Reputation in the World, than what I shall find my self always very well able to defend.

A TABLE of some of our Editor's apparent Contradictions and false Assertions observed in the foregoing REMARKS.

In the first Paragraph of his Proposals.

THE Printed Copies of the New Testament, both of the Original Greek and Vulgar Latin are taken from Manuscripts of no great Antiquity—recent and interpolated.

*C*onstatissima omni ex parte vetustissimaque Exemplaria pro Archetypis haberemus, quorum tam Græcorum quàm Latinorum multiplicem copiam, &c. Præf. Bibl. Complut.

Tantæ prætereà vetustatis ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur. Prol. *ibid.*

Adhibitis in consilium utriusque linguæ codicibus, nec iis sanè quibuscumque, sed vetustissimis simul & emendatissimis. Erasmi ad Leo X.

Codices ipsâ vetustatis specie pæne adorandos. Rob. Steph.

Our Editor in his Letter to Dr. Mill says, *Infinitam vim codicum MSS. curiosè excussisti.*

And speaking of some onely of his MSS. *Atque hæc quidem talia Exemplaria, cum aliis omnibus ubivis gentium, quod sciamus longè longèque & dignitate & tempore antecédant neque quidquam hodiè supersit simile aut secundum.*

In his Remarks on the Free-thinkers.

Dr. Mill, if we are to believe not onely this wise Author, but a wiser Doctor, has been labouring to make the Text of Scripture precarious, by scraping together such an immense Number of various Readings, as amount to above thirty thousand. *Part 1. p. 1.* Had

In his Third Paragraph.

A Labyrinth of thirty thousand various Readings, which crowd the Pages of our present best Editions, all put upon equal Credit, to the Offence of many good Persons.

Had the learned Dr. *Whitby*, and the greater Part of the Clergy, which from his Alarm took that Offence, no common Sense at that Time? *p.* 32.

Paragraph the Third.

All the various Readings put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Persons.

That the Readings in Dr. *Mill's* Edition, which accompany the Text, are put upon equal Credit, without Rejection or Preference, (except in some Places that make the present Points of Controversy) is certain and notorious.

Paragraph the Third.

The Author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of *Origen*.

Paragraph the Fourth.

The Author gives in his Notes all the various Readings now known, within the five first Centuries, and what has crept into the Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.

Several Priests of greater Zeal than Knowledge have oft by false Alarms frightened others. *Ibid.*

What is it your *Whitbyus* so inveighs and exclaims against? *Ib.*

In his Invective against my dead Friend ~~he~~ was suddenly seized with a Pannic, and under his Concern for the Text did not at all reflect what the Word really means. *p.* 68.

Page 41, 42.

Speaking of the single Chapter of his Specimen, he proves; that Dr. *Mill* has actually distinguished four Readings as true; three others as false; and one as dubious; all which relate to no Point of Controversy whatsoever.

And he may find, if he pleases, many more distinguished by him in the very Notes, which accompany the Text of this Chapter, v. 5, 6, 11, 14, 18.

In his Specimen.

He has produced but three Readings from *Origen*, and rejects them all as false.

In his Specimen.

He has omitted several Authorities of the five first Centuries, which Dr. *Mill* has given, as *Hilarius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, v. 2, 5, 14. besides some of the old Versions.

He has cited *Aretas* about thirty times, who lived near the middle of the sixth Century; *Greg. Palamas* who lived in the 14th; the Complutensian Edition very often, and even *Erasmus*. *Para-*

Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very sensible, that in the sacred Writings there's no Place for Conjectures; and he does not alter one Letter in the Text without Authorities subjoined in the Notes; and places under each Column the smallest Variation from the Greek of *Stephanus* and Latin of the two Popes.

Page 43.

Neither Dr. *Mill* nor any of the other Editors take any Notice in their Collation of Manuscripts of the Order of the Words.

Page 42.

Arctas lived about the fourth or fifth Century.

Page 14.

Dr. *Mill* never once dreamt of the excellent Use of the Latin Vulgate, or ever collated one.

Page 18.

Of all which, Dr. *Mill*, with his incredible Diligence, knew no more than our Censor.

Dr. *Mill* took all that heap of vicious Copies for one, and superstitiously and ignorantly made it his Idol, p. 26.

In his Specimen.

He has in the second Verse and elsewhere made some literal Alterations, without any account of them at all in his Notes: in the third Verse of the Latin he has made an Emendation contrary to all the MSS. he ever saw; and in the fifth Verse has made another verbal one in the Greek, without the least Reason or Authority whatsoever subjoined or produced for it.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 132.

Exemplar ipsum quod attinet, descriptum est literis—in quibus sedulo à scriptore cautum est, ut Græca & Latina sibi invicem responderent, verbum ferè verbo, servato plerumque eodem ipso verborum ordine.

M. Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Dr. *Mill*, and all who place him the earliest, say, that he lived near the middle of the sixth, others say, not till the tenth Century.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 142.

Veterem Novi Testamenti Italiam summâ veneratione prosequimur, ejusque vel semesa fragmenta auro contra non cara ducimus. Restat jam ipsius Hieronymi inspiciamus Exemplar. ib. p. 81.

In his printed Letter to Dr. *Mill*.

Tu verò, Milli doctissime, qui omnium mortalium maximè in eo studio versatus es.

Nisi vereretur coram in os Te laudare, dicerem quàm longo intervallo aliorum omnium in eo genere laboris post te reliqueris.

A Piece of the most unfortunate and erroneous Critick that ever saw the Light, p. 26.

The most recent, the most vile, the most contemptible of all MSS. have some Share in the Honour of his genuine Readings, p. 33.

Quis sanus would argue at this rate?

He follows such scrub MSS. and such scoundril Copies, as our Master would scorn to look into, p. 33, 34.

Omissions, the Doctor's peculiar Foible, p. 41.

Amicus Millius, sed magis amica veritas, p. 26.

Page 27.

Four or five extant Copies of the Greek are older than any Latin one ; but for Copies (of the New Testament) of a thousand Years of Age, there are twenty Latin ones preserved for one Greek.

Page 20.

St. *Jerom* translated into Latin a complaining Letter from *Epiphanius* to *Chrysostom*, and was charged with warping the Words to *Chrysostom's* Prejudice.

Te unum in hoc curriculum vocamus.

Omnia S. Patrum scripta, omnes antiquas versiones, & infinitam vim codicum MSS. curiosè excussisti.

As *Scaliger*, *Casaubon*, *Heinsius*, &c. when they designed to publish a corrected Edition of an Author, first laboured to procure all the MSS. they could hear of, as the only Means that promised laudable Success, so Dr. *Mill* proceeded in the same Method. *Free-th.* p. 74.

Dr. *Mill* an accurate Examiner of MSS. p. 68.

The Learned Dr. *Mill*, (whose Friendship and Memory will ever be dear to me) meets with a sorry Recompence for his long Labour of 30 Years. *Free-th.* p. 1. p. 61.

Jac. le Long, a learned and most curious Enquirer after all the MSS. of the Bible, in his Catalogue of 100 of the best and oldest Latin MSS. now known in the World, tells us of none older than *Theodulphus's* A. D. 790. mentions another of the Year 795. and a third, of which he doubts, reputed to be 1000 Years old. *Vid. le Long Bibl. sacr. Par. 1709. it. M. Martin's Defence of his Dissert. in Engl.* p. 14.

This Letter of *Epiphanius*, translated by *Jerom*, was not wrote to *Chrysostom*, but to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to admonish him to quit the Errors of *Origen*. *V. Hier.*

DE

LATINARUM LITERARUM

PRONUNCIATIONE

DISSERTATIO.

De Latinarum Literarum Pronunciatione Dissertatio.

Consideranti mihi sæpenumero diversam illam, quæ apud diversas gentes obtinet, latinæ linguæ pronuntiandæ rationem, opus ille, non tam sibi jucundum, quam studiosis utile suscepturus videretur, qui verum priscumque latinarum vocum sonum exquirere & revocare conabitur.

Quis enim non videt propter hanc, quæ in hisce præsertim Regionibus invaluerit, pronuntiandi varietatem & licentiam, viros doctos latine inter se colloquentes vix sese mutuò intelligere, nec sine labore quodam & molestia, verborum quam maximè familiarium sensus percipere posse.

Ipse quidem cum apud exterarum gentes versarer, parum certè seu nihil potius commodi ex sermonis latini usu hauriendum animadverti; & ni linguarum etiam hodierno usu florentium subsidium mihi aliquod comparâssem, caruissem maximo illo quidem & jucundissimo itinerum meorum fructu, quem ex hominum literatorum colloquiis & consuetudine familiari percepi.

Sensi enim viros, alioqui eruditos politosque, ob hoc ipsum latinæ locutionis incommodum peregrinantium sæpe congressus fugere; ni Gallicâ eos Italicâve linguâ uti posse intelligerent: cum enim linguam quisque latinam eodem plane modo ac patrium sermonem enuntiat, sequitur sanè, ut ne latine quidem loquentis verba sensusque intelligere queamus, ni linguam simul ejusdem vernaculam & gentilitiam teneamus.

Eraſmus se adfuisse olim commemorat cum die quodam solenni complures Principum Legati ad Maximilianum Imperatorem salutandi causa advenissent, singulosque, Gallum, Germanum, Danum, Scotum &c. orationem latinam ita barbarè ac vaste pronuntiassent, ut Italis quibusdam, nil nisi risum moverent, qui eos non latinè, sed sua quemque lingua, locutos jurassent.

Sin autem verus unquam nativusque literarum priscarum sonus revocari ac restitui, certaue aliqua pronuntiandi regula constitui

De Latinarum Literarum Pronunciatione Dissertatio.

omnibus posset; non hisce modo malis remedium nobis paratum esset, linguasque alias perdiscendi labor vix doctis minueretur, sed lingua ipsa latina ad cæteras etiam omnes rectè & grammaticè pronuntiandas tanquam exemplar & norma quædam proponeretur.

Sed contra omnino, & præposterè sanè hac in re fieri videmus, tantum enim abest ut ad linguæ latinæ normam regulamque, cæteræ, quæ nunc in usu sunt, reducantur omnes & corrigantur, ut cæterarum potius omnium vitia, sonosque barbaros in eam jam transferri cernamus.

Ex omnibus autem, apud quos latini sermonis usus adhuc aliquis restat, prima emendatæ locutionis laus Italis certè debetur: Itali vero proximam Anglis deferunt: rectè secusne alii judicent; quoniam ipse pro patriæ caritate iudex fortasse minùs æquus existimarer: de Italis ratio certe ipsa evincit, homines illos, quorum in sermone non vocum latinarum vestigia solum, sed voces ipsæ, & vera quasi latinitas eluceant, unà cum vocibus a maioribus acceptis sonos etiam antiquos quam maxime retinuisse: idque cunctorum certè experientia confirmabit, ostendetque illud omne quod Italicæ pronuntiationis proprium, atque a reliquis linguis diversum videtur, non nisi a Romanorum veterum usu ac sermone esse derivatum; uti pluribus infra exemplis perspicuum fiet.

Elaborarunt olim hac in causa viri sane magni Erasmus, Lipsius, atque e nostris Chekus, Smithusque; quorum hi ad Græcæ potissimum linguæ, illi ad latinæ sese pronuntiationem non sine magna doctrinæ ingeniique laude applicaverunt: omnium autem maxime Erasmus; qui proprio Marte, nulloque præeunte, rem obscuram ac reconditam princeps explicare aggressus est, atque in hac disputatione, ut in aliis omnibus, sæculi sui tenebras barbariemque debellare, priscamque literarum & artium elegantiam revocare conatus est: Lipsius autem vix aliud mea quidem sententia fecisse videtur, ac Erasmi libellum, absque ulla ejus mentione, compilasse. Ab illis vero scriptoribus etsi plurima ingeniose atque erudite disputata sint, nonnulla tamen deesse, multa dubiè, quædam etiam falso posita animadverti; idque hac in causa accidisse, quod in cæteris plerisque solet, ut mortalium nemini detur rem invenisse simul & perfecisse.

Quippe

Quippe multa jam nobis suppetunt argumenti hujus explicandi subsidia, quibus illi carebant; eruta scilicet post illa tempora antiquitatis omnis monumenta; & magnæ illæ inscriptionum veterum moles, quæ collectæ simul, librisque pervulgatæ in publicum jam omnibus proponuntur: e quibus melius longe, opinor, quam ex ipsis grammaticis, præter latinæ vocum pronuntiatio erui ac elici potest: literarum enim inter se permutationes, quas in inscriptionibus sæpe videmus, promiscuusque nonnullarum usus, maxime vero sculptorum in Orthographiæ leges peccantium errores germanam earum vim sonumque indicare plane videntur.

Romanis enim idem certe contigisse cognovimus, quod nobis fere quotidie contingit; Marmorarios scilicet istos, quibus lapidum inscribendorum cura commissa fuerit, Orthographiæ regulas ignorantes, errores idcirco fœdos in verbis sæpe describendis admisisse, quos etsi verba minus recte, at verum verborum sonum, alienis licet literis, secutos esse ac dedisse constat: exempli gratia; si quis sonum literæ X, a Græcis acceptæ, investigare voluerit, in inscriptionibus eam antiquis nonnunquam per c & s expressam & permutatam videbit, ut in vicis; lucserunt. [...] quibus in verbis etsi litera ipsa non appareat, vis tamen ejus plene expressa reperietur: atque eodem modo in cæteris ex literarum, quarum vis cognita est, permutatione illarum, de quibus dubitamus, nativum sonum elicere valebimus.

Itaque dum Grammatici veteres literarum singularum sonos, quod certe difficile est, verbis describere atque exprimere laborant; marmora interea vetera sonum ipsum fictum quasi ac formatum ante oculos ponunt. Hac igitur via insistendum, atque inscriptionum veterum ope literarum sonos exquirendos mihi atque indicandos proposui. In singulis vero describendis, eas omnes prætermittere visum est, quæ nihil in se singulare vel notatu dignum contineant, & in eis solum illustrandis consistere, quæ in sonos alienos delapsæ, atque a veterum usu detortæ videntur.

Primum igitur de vocalium pronuntiatione, ex qua syllabarum vis omnis, sonusque pendent, quid statuendum sit videamus.

Ore contracto, magis quam par est, efferimus, quam tamen

A.

riētu

riſtu patulo proferendam Grammatici veteres docent: [a] idque de Græcorum etiam A confirmat *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* [b] qui ex vocalibus longis eam sonantiſſimam eſſe ſcribit, proferriſſe ore quam maxime dilatato, ſpirituque cælum verſus ſublato. Atque hoc modo Itali eam Gallique hodie efferunt; Romanosque etiam idem olim feciſſe conſtat; nam in marmoribus antiquis ad A interdum V vocalem contra Orthographiæ leges adiunctam, ut AVROMATA-RIVS. (Grut. 636. 7) ARCHILIVOS. [ib. 582. 6.] & pro A longâ duplicem perſepe poſitam videmus, ut PAASTORES [150. 7] FAATO [1046. 6] &c. quæ omnia non niſi ſoni dilatationem quandam ſignificare videntur. FAATO NAATAM. Fabrett. 421.

E. Vocalis ſonum diſtincte & accurate explicare difficilius videtur: Italos ego, uti noſtros etiam, recte eam proferre cenſeo in vocibus, aſcendo, ventus &c. Gallos vero peſſime, qui iſſdem in locis eam ad ſonum A dilatare ſolent.

I. Sonum habuit medium quendam & communem cum ſuperiori E. Hoc Grammatici tradunt; confirmatque *Quinctilianus*, [c] qui T. Livium Sibe & Quaſe pro Sibi & Quaſi uti ſolere dicit. Neque ullarum toties in inſcriptionibus antiquis, quoties harum inter ſe vocalium permutatio reperitur, ut TETVLVS SACREFCIVM BENIVOLENTIA CAMINA [f] atque hinc mihi veriſimile videtur Romanos veteres eundem huic vocali ſonum attribuiſſe atque Itali hodie, nec alium ac nos per duplicem E exprimimus in Street, See. &c. quod ex hiſce præſertim vocibus apparet. DIANA. SPOLIA. EXEAT. CAVEAS. quas ita ſæpe ſcriptas reperio. DEANA. SPOLEA. EXSIAT. CAVIAS. [g] in quibus cum fere ſonum quem dixi expreſſum videmus.

Latini veteres I longam per EI Græcorum diphthongum ſcribebant: quem ſcribendi morem a Grammaticis memoratum plurimæ nobis adhuc inſcriptiones conſervant, ut CEIVIS. EITVR. IPSEIVS. QUEI. [h] neque aliter Græci in Romanis nominibus,

[a] Marius Victorinus de enuntiatione iterarum.

[b]

[c] Gruter. 636. 7. 582. 6.

[d] Ib. 150. 7: 1046. 6.

[e] l. 1. c. 7.

[f] Vid. Gruter. 1051. 6. 328. 1. 443. 6. 47. 10.

[g] Vid. ib. 39. 4. 7. Cenotaph. Piſan. 755. 1. 629. 1. ult.

[h] Gruter. 206. 1. 171. 8. 541. 7.

ut ANThNEINOC. hAThTEINA. [c] Utrumque enim idem planè sonuisse ex epistola quadam Ciceronis ad Pætum [d] colligere possumus; in qua de verbis, quæ obscœna habebantur, ludens, cum loquimur, inquit, teini, nih'il flagitii dicimus, at cum bini, obscœnum est; alludens scilicet ad Græcam vocem βινει, ut Græci vero I longam per EI. ita latini EI Græcorum quandoque per E productam, quandoque per I scribebant, ut Νειλo Nilus. Επικουριο Epicureus, qua in voce I tamen pro E posita interdum legitur. Epicurius. [e] quod sonum utrisque persimilem fuisse demonstrat. ARIA. Fab. 153.

Lipsius dicit solos Europæorum Britannos hanc vocalem rectè proferre, [f] at omnium potius meo iudicio pessimè, atque a veterum more remotissime, uti ex pronunciatione vocum nostrarum Mind. Bind. &c. cum superioribus collata apparebit.

Nec minus quidem barbarè nostri literam I, cum consonantis loco ponitur, efferunt; qui pro ea semper G pronunciant, ut magestas. gecit. quam pronunciandi rationem Romanis penitus ignotam fuisse existimo, qui eam ita in Majorca, Iuno, Iecit efferebant, uti nos Y consonantem in York, You, Yes. I, inquit *Priscianus* [g] modo pro simplici, modo pro duplici accipitur consonante; pro simplici, quando in principio dictionis ab ea incipit syllaba subsequente vocali ut Iuno: pro duplici, quando in medio dictionis ab ea incipit syllaba post vocalem, ut Majus, Pejus, ubi antiqui solebant geminare I & scribere Maiius, Peiuis: quod non aliter pronunciari posset, quam si cum priori syllaba prior I, cum posteriori altera proferetur Pei-ius. atque ita Pompei-ius; cujus genitivus per tria I scribebatur. Quæ Prisciani verba sonum illum mollem dulcemque I consonantis, quem modo indicavi, designare planè videtur, nempe eundem prorsus quo Itali hodie easdem voces efferunt.

Eundem olim sonum habuisse apud veteres Romanos atque hodie apud Italos, Græcæ scilicet diphthongi ου, certissimum est. Quippe ita eam in marmoribus antiquis persæpe scriptam & expressam videmus, ut LOVGET. IOVSIT. INDOVCEBAMVS. OB

v.

[c] Inscript, Florent. 375.

[f] De rec. pronunciat. lin. lat. c. 8.

[d] Epist. 1. 9. 22.

[g] L. 1. c. de literar. numero.

[e] Aldi Orthograph. p. 20.

De Latinarum Literarum Pronunciatione Dissertatio.

INIOVRIAS IOVDICATI. [a] idque Grammatici etiam omnes confirmant [b]. nec Græci eam aliter in Romanis nominibus, ac per *ov* scribunt, ut IOTAIOC. AOTKIOC, &c. [c] atque hinc apud Suidam *Κυρωσσος*. Curiosus.

At de V consonantis sono haud inter doctos constare video: Erasmus Lipsiusque [d] eam per nostram W proferebant censent, ut Winum, Wultus. idque varijs argumentis probare conantur; nec aliam omnino vim Æolico Digamma attribuunt, cui hanc litteram successisse Grammatici tradunt. At Priscianus contra [e] *Æolicum Digamma eandem vim ac Græcorum Φ, seu Latinarum PH, vel F habuisse* confirmat; *postea vero placuisse Latinis ejus loco V consonantem adhibere, qui cognatione soni videbatur affinis esse.* Quibus verbis hanc consonantem non alium apud veteres, atque apud nos hodie, sonum obtinuisse ostenditur.

Miratur autem Erasmus literas hæc F & V consonantem ob tantam soni affinitatem nusquam inter se commutas reperiri: at Jo. Terullium memorasse scribit, [f] se inscriptionem veterem Romæ vidisse, in qua FIXIT. pro VIXIT. bis positam legisset. Atque in multis alijs inter Romana nomina animadverti. FICTORIA. FICTORIANVS. FICARIVS. FARVS. [g] quæ ab eodem fonte profluxisse videntur.

At hanc litteram cum B plerumque permutatam cernimus. Ut BIXIT. VIBVS, OCTABIANVS. OVVIOLARIT. [b] Ista vero cum littera B affinitus a sono nostræ W. quam maximè aliena videtur. Neque illud omnino verisimile est, ejusmodi sonum Romanis unquam familiarem fuisse, cujus nullum prorsus apud Italos, sed apud gentes solummodo remotas & barbaras, vestigium remanserit. CVVICVLO. IVVEO. Fabrett. Inscrip. Ant. p. 102. VNIBERSIS. ib.

VICTORIAE CONVGI. 630. FICTORIA. 240. BICTORIA. 274.

Hæc vero, quæ de vocalium pronuntiatione disputata sunt, de sono earum generali ac communi dicta intelligantur: quippe apud

[a] Grut. 1055. 1. 171. 8. 499. 12. 204.

[b] Mar. Victorin. l. 1. Priscian. l. 1. de num. lit.

[c] Inscrip. Florent. p. 51. 22.

[d] Erasmi de recte pronuntiat. p. 168. Lips. c. 12.

[e] Ibid. vid. etiam Mar. Victorin. l. 1.

de Orthograph.

[f] Jo. Tortel. Orthograph. de litera. F. fol. 4. ib. 172.

[g] Grut. 643. 6. 886. 15. 911. 17. 757. 9.

[b] Grut. 334. 2. 757. 1. Inscr. Flor. p. 172. 145.

veteres, uti apud nos hodie, easdem vocales, non eandem semper vim in cunctis æquè locis obtinuisse liquet; neque in syllabis breviter celeriterque enuntiandis sonus cujusque proprius distincte & accurate proferri ac exprimi poterat: atque hinc fit, ut in inscriptionibus antiquis omnium fere vocalium, utcunque inter se dissimilium, permutationes usumque promiscuum in ejusmodi locis inveniamus. Ut. MÔNO. MONI. MONUMENTVM. HERCO. HERCVLES. PIGNE PIGNORA. OPTV. OPTMV. [a]

Diphthongos quod attinet, nomen ipsum naturam earum indicat: videlicet, cum binæ vocales in eadem syllabâ coeuntes sono quodam duplici, sed mixto & in unum quasi conflato, proferuntur; ita tamen ut utriusque etiam vim percipere queamus. Ejusmodi vero sonus cum non nisi difficulter, nec sine oris labore quodam accurate exprimi poterat; usus hominum communis, in mollitiem semper deliciasque delabens, illum ita paulatim emollivit, ut diphthongos demum ad vocalium simplicium gradum revocaverit. Atque hinc in diphthongo Æ. omiſſa altera vocali A. & pro nihilo habitâ, in altera E Romanos olim constituisse, eamque unice expressisse reperio; quod marmora antiqua demonstrant, in quibus diphthongus hæcce cum E vocali promiscuè ubique usurpata & commutata, tum in longis, tum brevibus etiam Syllabis occurrit. ut. ÆIVS. ÆXTÆRVM. VENÆRI. EDIFICIVM. EGYPTVS. PRETORIVM. [b] Undè sonum utriusque similem seu eundem potius fuisse perspicuum est. Sculptores enim, ut supra dixi, orthographiæ ignaros, non nisi aurium judicium, sonique rationem in verbis describendis secutos esse necesse est.

Æ.

CONIVGIS SVE. [Camera ed Iscrizioni sepolchral. Inf. 182.]

FILIAE QVE VIXIT. Inſcrip. Florent. p. 178.

Hæc diphthongus per OI antiquitus scribebatur, & utrovis modo cum V vocali confundebatur: ut COIRAVIT. COERAVIT. CVRAVIT. OIT. OET. VTILE. [c] Hujus autem affinitatis ratio explicatu mihi difficilis videtur: eumque scribendi morem apud priscos solummodo Romanos obtinuisse, ac obsolevisse postea constat.

Œ.

[a] Grut. 946. 6: 608. 2: 6. 2: 1052. pronunt. Gr. 1053. 2: 376. 3. 28. 5: 10: 329. [c] Ib. 59. 8: 100. 8: 499. 12.

[b] Grut. 542. 2: 756. 2: Lips. de

Hanc enim diphthongum eodem modo ac superiorem tractari, atque ad sonum simplicem vocalis E redigi tandem reperio. Pro qua in inscriptionibus persæpè posita occurrit. Ut EPHOEVS. FOELIX. PROSCONIVM [d] quibus in verbis propter E longam, sonumque adeo ejus minime dubium, sculptor in iis licet scribendis peccare, in sonandis tamen nullo modo poterat.

Præterea diphthongos hæc Æ & OE. alteram pro altera nunquam positas cernimus, ut in familiarum nominibus. CAE. & COELIA. CAE. & COERANVS, CAE. & COESONIVS [e] ex quibus patet, apud Romanos olim, uti apud nos hodie, haud alium utramque sonum ac vocalem E habuisse.

De reliquis diphthongis parum mihi lucis ex inscriptionibus antiquis suppeditatur: eas autem ab Italis recte pronuntiari censeo, qui ita efferunt, ut utriusque vocalis vis percipi clare & distingui possit.

AV. Diphthongo sonum illi tribuunt latiore, crassioreque quam nostra lingua agnoscit, ejus vero non absimilem, quem in verbo nostro *ææ* exprimimus; præsertim si rusticorum more, ac si per a scriptum esset, pronuntiaretur, nos certe hanc diphthongum mollius, quam par est, & ore nimis contracto efferimus. Galli vero omnium pessimè, qui ei semper sonum vocalis O adjungunt.

EV. Haud male a nobis pronuntiari existimo, in vocibus latinis Euge, neuter &c. in nostris shew. lewd. &c.

Æ. Conjugi sue Julie Longine Fabrett. 83, sine ulla litæ. 95.

Glæba & Gleba promiscuè scribitur in antiquissimo Cod. Virgil. medico quem ipse vidi Norr, 431.

C. Ante vocales A. O. V. eundem olim sonum habuisse ac hodie habet certissimum est: qualem autem ante reliquas E & I, diphthongosque AE. OE. EV. habuerit, haud ita convenit. Angli illam, Gallique etiam, haud ab S. distinguunt. in Cæna. Cæsar. Ceres. Cinis &c. at in iisdem Itali, quod Romanos etiam fecisse olim existimo, cum huic literæ sonum tribuunt, quo nos *cb* efferimus, in vocibus nostris Cheek; Cherry, Cheap &c. itaque pronuntiant Cicero, uti nos Chichester; Chicheley, &c. ita tamen ac si ante C, cum in medio vocis sequatur vocalem, litera T. leviter admodum & subobscurè sonanda interponeretur. Ut Citcero,

Chitchester. quam pronuntiandi rationem expressisse planè sculpsitor quidam videtur, qui in inscriptione veteri contra orthographiæ regulas T ante C interposuit in nomine Vrbicitius. [f] Hanc autem Italorum consuetudinem Lipsius prorsus deridet, literamque C eandem prorsus vim ac K ante omnes pariter vocales obtinuisse contendit. [g] At virum doctum, Germanorum suorum sonis nimis faventem, hoc in loco, uti alias sæpè errasse constat. Nam etsi K ante vocales A. O. V. pro C. persæpe scripta reperitur. Ut Karcer. Kos. Kujus. &c. [h] ante reliquas tamen nusquam ita positam animadverti; ex quo utrumque illud probari videtur, tum literas hasce eandem plane vim nonnullis in locis, tum diversam quandam in aliis habuisse; atque hinc in Carcer. primam C cum K commutatam videmus, at secundam non item. In inscriptionibus vero antiquis litera hæc ante I in medio vocis sequente altera vocali, nunquam, ut dixi, cum K, sæpissime tamen cum T commutata cernitur. Ut Domicius. Palacium. Fabritius. Fetialis. Condicio. [i] cujus quidem permutationis in literis tam inter se potestate dissimilibus nulla certe ratio reddi posset; ni utraque iis in locis posita sonum quendam tum inter se consimilem, tum diversum ab eo quem alibi obtinerent, habuissent. Nunquam enim aut earum permutatio aut soni affinitas aliqua cernitur, nisi ante I sequente altera vocali. Quo in loco quum T. sonuisse ut Ts infra ostenditur, sequitur plane C sonum ei persimilem habuisse, nec alium quidem ac quem supra indicavi, quemque Itali hodie illi iisdem in locis assignant. Constanciæ. Fabrett. 102. dicionem. 169. condicio. 378. folacium. 421. negociantur. cenot. Pis. p. 301. Numicius. isius. 151. 11. v. 55.

Hanc literam omnes eodem modo efferunt ante A. O. V. ante ceteras vocales diphthongosve mollius ea quiddam apud Romanos olim, uti apud nos hodie, sonuisse videtur; contra omnino ac Lipsius disputat; qui hanc omnibus consonantibus regulam generalem constituit, videlicet eas eundem semper atque unicum solummodo cunctis

[f] Grut. 1059. 3.

[i] Ib. 689. 9: 232. l. 10: 101. 5:

[g] Lips. de Pronunt. lin. lat. c. 13.

457. 2: Ald. Orthog. p. 295.

[h] Grut. 80. 5. 607. 1.

æquè in locis sonum obtinere; contenditque adeo G aliam nusquam habere vim ac quam in voce lego. [k]

At in marmoribus vetustissimis, cum jam litera hæcce nondum inventa ac inter latinas recepta esset, C pro ea usurpatam videmus; ut in Duilliana illa LECIONES. CARTACINIENSIS. &c. [l] Et in multis etiam aliis ante vocales E & I. eam pro G positam animadverti. Ut MACESTERIVM. PRIMICENIVS. [m] quibus, in locis cum literam C molliorem quendam sonum, ut apud Italos, quem nos per ch exprimimus, obtinuisse probavi, sequitur plane G etiam sonum itidem mollem & consimilem habuisse; eundem, opinor, quem Itali jam, nostrique etiam in verbis legio, magistratus illi attribuunt.

GN. Cum literam G in medio dictionis sequatur N. ut magnus. Itali alteram ei N in pronuntiando præponunt, atque I vocalem utrisque subjiciunt; deinde ipsi G subobscurum admodum sonum tribuentes, ita vocem ipsum efferunt ac si scriberetur Mang-nius vel Mannius. Quod Romanis etiam antiquis in usu fuisse perspicuum est: nam in vetustis quibusdam inscriptionibus, quo sonus iste melius exprimeretur, I post GN. interpositam nonnunquam animadverti, ut. MAG-NIO [n] ABIEGNIAS. [o]

Id vero a Græcorum consuetudine profluxisse liquet, quos literæ Γ sequente altera Γ vel X, K, Ξ. sonum literæ N tribuisse cognovimus; ut ΑΓΓΕΛΟC. ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ. ΑΝΑΓΚΗ. ΦΙΓΞ. Angelus. Enchiridium. Sphinx. atque hinc in inscriptionibus Græcis ejusmodi verba cum N interdum interposita scribi videmus. ut. ΑΝΑΝΚΗ. ΕΠΑΝΓΕΛΛΑΜΕΝΟC. [p] quam consuetudinem latinos etiam secutos esse Victorinus ostendit; [q] qui pro Agger Anger; Suggestum, Sungestum; Ancilia, Agcilia scribi oportere censet. Atque hanc denique pronuntiandi dulcedinem significare mihi Cicero videtur. Erant, inquit, [r] noti, navi, nari; quibus cum IN præponi oporteret, dulcius visum est ignoti, ignavi, ignari dicere.

MAGNIO. MAGNIVS. MAGNIA &c. Fabrett. Inscr. an. p. 14. 249. 254. 292.

H. Non tam literam quam aspirationis notam seu signum literæ validius intentiusque proferendæ a grammaticis existimari video. Scribit

[k] Ib. c. 14.	[l] Grut. 404. 1.	[p] Inscription. Florent. p. 22. l. 16.
[m] 1065. 9 : 107. 4.	[n] Inscript.	[q] Mar. Victorin. l. 1. de Orthograp.
Florent. bis.	[o] Gr. 207.	[r] Orator. p. 265.

a veteribus assignatum reperio: in inscriptionibus antiquis pro C, ut supra ostendi, perſepe poſita occurrit. ut *Karus*. 333. 9. *Kaput*. 214. *Kos*. 607. 1. *Kujus*. &c.

PH. Eundem olim ſonum habuiſſe ac F. inſcriptiones veteres confirmant, in quibus alterum pro altero promiſcue adhiberi cernimus. ut AMFION. TRIVMFVS. PHIDELIS. [x]

Q In literarum ſupervacanearum numero a grammaticis habetur. K & Q. inquit Prifcianus, [y] *quamvis figura & nomine videantur aliquam habere differentiam, cum C tamen eandem tum in ſono vocum quam in metro continent poteſtatem*. Exiſtimabatur olim vim literarum C & V conjunctam poſſidere, ideoque nonnulli QIS QAE. QID. pro QVIS. QVAE ſcripſerunt. [z] At eam cum V vulgò ſcribi videmus, nec aliter omnino ſonare ac C. cum qua eam perſepe commutatam ac promiſcue uſurpatam reperimus. ut. ACVA. CVO. AQVITVR. MEQVM. PEQVNIA. [a] CVOTTIDIE. Fabrett. 272.

T. Ante I ſequente etiam altera vocali. uti in IVSTITIA. pronuntiatu-
tur ab Italis, tanquam TS, vel TZ. quod Romanos etiam veteres fac-
titaſſe Papirius quidam grammaticus tradit. [b] At hunc pronunti-
andi morem Papiriumque item ipſum vehementer irridet Lipſius,
[c] neque alium prorfus literæ T. hoc in loco ac in ceteris omnibus
ſonum tribui debere contendit. Quicquid vero ille diſputet, vel hoc
uno marmore refutari exiſtimo, in quo CRESCENTSIVS. cum S
poſt T ad ſonum ejus plenius exprimendum interpoſitâ ſcribitur. [d]
Illam autem T, quia leviter tantum & ſubobſcure, ut apud Italos
hodie, pronuntianda eſſet, prætermiſſam alio in loco & per S ſolum-
modo repræſentatam a ſculptore cernimus. Ut VOLCASIVS. [e] Bo-
nifatæ. 299. Fabrett. amatiuſ. amafiuſ. 603. comitiuſ. iciuſ. 617.
Fabritio. Robertell. emend. p. 46.

X. Loco CS, vel GS a Græcis inventam atque a Latinis aſſumptum eſſe Prifcianus docet: [f] *qua carere potuimus*, inquit *Quinſtilianuſ*,
[g] *ni quæſiſſemus*.

[x] Grut. 125. col. 5: 285. 6: 943.

[b] Vid. Aldi Orthogr. p. 563. [c]

[y] l. 1. de num. literar. [z] Vel.

de pronunt. lin. lat. c. 14. [d] Grut.

Longiuſ de Orthograph. [a] Grut. 593.

127. l. 1. [e] Inſcr. Flor. p. 400. [f]

5: 786. 5: 138. 817. 12: 102. l. 7.

l. 1. de num. lit. [g] l. 1. c. 4.

Græcæ prorsus literæ sunt; nec a Latinis usquam, uti grammatici tradunt, nisi in Græcis quibusdam nominibus usurpatæ. ut *HYLAS*. *ZEPHYRVS*. &c. [b]

Y & Z.

Omnes, qui de hac quæstione scripserunt, literam Y (quæ a Græcis Upsilon dicitur) sonum vocalis V, Gallico more pronuntiata habuisse contendunt; eundem scilicet, quem eidem nos vocali tribuimus in vocibus *Duke*, *Flute*, *Lute*. *Centyria*. *Fabrett*. 175. *Tyscia* ib. *Vyrginem*. 53. *Olumpus*. 175.

Chekusque noster præsertim *lumen sonorum extinctum dicit, cum Y, uti semper apud nos, ad sonum I traducatur*. [i] Attamen ea nonnunquam cum I commutata in marmoribus antiquis invenitur, ut *NIMPHIS*. *BYBLIOTHECA*. [k] At multo sæpius, cum V, Ut *ILLVRICVM*. *SVRIA*. *CENTYRIA*. *SATYRNVS*. [l] Quod Erasmi sententiam confirmare videtur, qui hanc literam medium quiddam inter I & V Gallicam sonuisse existimat.

A Græcis accepta vice literarum S & D apud Latinosungebatur: *si assumpta non esset*, inquit *Max. Victorinus*, [m] *pro Mezentius, scriberemus Mesdentius*. Quam scribendi consuetudinem *Dores etiam inter Græcos secutos* esse constat; qui pro *μελιζειν* dabant *μελισθειν*. *Eos vero* ut pro Z non σδ modo, sed δς etiam usurpasse cognovimus; ita Romanos etiam idem fecisse, idque ad Italos inde profluxisse verisimile est, qui hanc hodie literam per ds semper efferunt.

Z.

[i] Max. Victorin. de lit.

[k] de lin. Gr. pronunt. p. 88.

[k] Grut. 36. 6: 475. 4.

27. 5: 45. 13: 422. 1.

[l] ib. 297:

[m] c. de lit.



Dr. *M I D D L E T O N*'s

L E T T E R S

T O

Mr. *W A R B U R T O N*.



Vol. II.

N n n

L E T T E R I.

Dorchester, Sept. 11, 1736.

S I R,

YOUR Candor, I hope, has already prevented me in suggesting some favourable Excuse for my long Silence. The Truth, which is always the best Apology, is, that I was absent from *Cambridge*, when your Letter arrived there; and though it was transmitted to me at this Place, yet it found me in no Condition to answer it, either to your Satisfaction or my own. I am here unprovided of *Tully's Works*, and without the Help of my Papers to furnish any Hints to me on the Subject; spending my Time suitably to the Taste and Temptations of the Country, in Cards at home, and Sports abroad; yet I could not longer defer to pay my Thanks at least for the great Entertainment, that it gave me; with Promise of further Payment, as soon as I am able.

The Point, that you undertook to make good concerning *Tully*, is, that *he did not believe a future State*. In Proof of which you maintain, that in *his Epistles onely*, of all his Works, we are to look for *his real Sentiments*.

This, tho' supported by you very ingeniously, is not, I own, agreeable to the Notion, that I had formed from my general Acquaintance with his Writings: And as I have not yet had Leisure to make it the Subject of a particular Enquiry, so at present I can onely give my loose and indigested Thoughts on the Matter; which I shall do very freely, and in the Method, that you have sketched out to me.

You assign four Reasons of the Difficulty of discovering *Tully's* Opinions on the important Questions of Philosophy. 1. The Character of the ancient Philosophy in general. 2. The manner in which the *Romans* received the *Greek Philosophy*. 3. The

Nature of that Philosophy, which *Tully* espoused. 4. The peculiar Character of the Man.

1. By the first, you mean *the double Doctrine* of the old Masters; *the external, and internal*; the one for the Vulgar, the other for the Adept. But whatever Effect this had in *Greece*, where that Way of Teaching seems to have been drop'd long before *Tully*; it certainly had none in *Rome*, or at least in *Tully's* Writings: The End and Purpose of which was to explain to his Countrymen, in the most perspicuous Manner, whatever the Ancients had taught on every Article, either of speculative or practical Knowledge.

2. *The Romans*, you say, *were far from the Humour of the Greeks*; and did not regard the *Doctrine of the Sect*, that they espoused, as a *Rule of Life*, but a kind of Furniture onely for their *Rhetoric Schools*. But I see no Ground for this Distinction; if there was any between them, the *Greeks* were certainly the more disputatious, and, agreeably to *St. Paul's* Character of them, more curious and fond of *every thing new*. *Cato*, you see, from the Testimony, that you produce, made the *Stoical Doctrine* his *Rule of living*; and tho' he is laugh'd at for it by *Cicero*, yet not for making Philosophy his Rule, but that particular Philosophy, which was incompatible with common Life.

There is a Letter from *Tully* to *Trebatius*, upon his turning Epicurean; in which he rallies him for his new Principles, which must necessarily spoil the Lawyer, as breaking thro' all the old Forms of securing Faith and Property amongst Men: and concludes, *that if he was serious in the Change, he was sorry for it; if to make his Court onely to Pansa, he excused it.* (Fam. l. 7. 12.) This shews, that the Choice of a Sect was not thought a Thing indifferent, but supposed to operate in Life and Manners. If then, as *Tully* says, a great Part took up their Philosophy *disputandi causa, non ita vivendi*; yet this was not the Thing generally thought blameable. Nor was it peculiar to the *Romans*, any more than to the *Greeks*, or to any other People, *not to live up to the Rule, that they professed*; just as we see it now in the Case

of

of Religion, which a great Part in all Countries contend for very warmly, yet practise very coldly.

3. You make *the Nature of Tully's Philosophy* another Source of Difficulty in finding out his real Sentiments. His Philosophy was *of the Academy*; and whether of the old or the new, much the same. But when you call it *perfectly sceptical*, you seem to confound it with a different Sect, whose distinguishing Character was to *doubt of every Thing*: Whereas the Principle of the Academy was onely to *suspend their Assent*, till by examining all Sides of a Question, they could discover *the probable*. For in speculative Enquiries they disclaimed *all Certainty*; and thought nothing so unworthy of a Philosopher, as a *rash Assent*, and the embracing for true what he did not comprehend. They imagined Truth and Falshood to be so mix'd and blended by Nature, that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate them entirely; that Probability was the utmost, that human Wit could arrive at. This therefore they made *their Rule*, both of thinking and acting. What the other Sects affirmed with Assurance, they made it their Task to confute or shew to be *uncertain*; taking from each still what they liked, and following it, with this Difference onely; that what the others called *true*, they called *probable*.

This, of all others, was the most rational Way of philosophizing; subjecting them to no Master, no System of Opinions; but leaving a Liberty to chuse, after a free Enquiry, whatever was found most agreeable to Reason and Nature. But what is there in this to create Difficulty in discovering a Man's Opinions, whenever he thinks fit to declare them? It might create, perhaps, some Diffidence in declaring them; and a Disposition, to confute rather what others assert, than to assert any Thing of his own: But their Rule still was as certain and consistent as of any other Sect; and when persuaded, of any Opinion, they pursued it as regularly, and explained as freely as any of the rest.

4. But the *Embarrass*, you say, is compleated by the *peculiar Character of the Man*; which you consider in three different Capacities, of the *Orator, the Statesman, the Philosopher*; and contend, that

that he not only contradicts in one, what he affirms in another, but is inconsistent with himself, even when he speaks from one and the same Person: Yet from the best Attention, that I have been able to pay to his History, I find in him but one general, consistent, glorious Character, of a great and good Man, acting and speaking on all Occasions, what the greatest Prudence with the greatest Virtue would suggest.

As an Orator, it was his Business to inforce, with all the Power of Eloquence, whatever he thought serviceable to his Client, and useful to the Cause, that he was defending. Of this Part he acquitted himself with Glory; and tells us himself, what the Nature of the Thing would tell us for him, that we are not to expect his real Sentiments here.

As a Statesman, the Case is still the same. In his Harangues to the People he gives a different Account, you observe, of the same Fact, from what he had done in the Senate; that is, he adapts his Style and Arguments to the different Genius of each Assembly; to engage them both the more effectually to promote the Measures, that he was then pursuing.

As a Philosopher; if we join the Character of an Academic, we shall find him equally consistent. For I cannot help agreeing with *Bentley*, in taking this for the Key of his philosophical Writings, as much as I do with you, in your fixing the Time of his changing the Academy. This was the Philosophy, that he profess'd through Life; and to which he professes himself indebted for all his Success in it: And this Clue will lead us through that *Labyrinth of Contradiction*, which you seem to discover in his Works.

In his Book of Divination, you say, *he combats all Augury*; but in his Book of Laws declares for it; in a manner too serious to suspect him of feigning. Yet all the Matter is, that in the one he acts the Philosopher; in the other the Statesman: In his Treatise on Divination, he asserts and establishes it in the first Book, in the Person of his Brother, by all the Arguments, that can be brought for it; and refutes them all in the second, in his own Person.

Person. This is the true Spirit of the Academy; after examining both Sides, to reject what has nothing solid in it. Yet in *his Treatise on Laws*, he recommends *Augury*; and no Wonder: for tho' he laughed at it as a Philosopher; he had a great Opinion of it as a Politician: And always speaks of the *Invention of its Ceremonies, and the making them Part of the civil Constitution, as an Instance of the greatest Wisdom and Prudence in their Ancestors*. For it was wholly agreeable to that Scheme of Policy, which he constantly pursued from the Beginning to the End of Life, of throwing the chief Influence and Balance of Power in State Matters into the Hands of the better Sort.

Again you take Notice, that in *his Book on the Nature of the Gods*, he reflects on those, as too curious or impertinent, who were calling upon him on all Occasions to declare his own Opinion: *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiant, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.* (l. 1. § 5.) yet in *his Academic Questions*, he swears, *that he always speaks what he thinks: Jurarem—me et ardere studio veri-reperendi, et ea sentire, quæ dicerem.* (l. 4. § 10.) In the first of these Works, he professes onely to collect what the old Philosophers had taught; and, according to the Method of the Academy, to combat the Opinion of one Sect, with that of another, without declaring his own: So that the Difficulty of discovering it is not owing here, as you intimate, to any obscurity in delivering it; but to his not delivering it at all. But in the *Academic Questions*, as far as I can understand the Passage without the Context to assist me, he does not swear, as you render it, *that he always speaks what he thinks*, but onely, *that he thinks what he is there speaking*: And if so, it confirms what I have been saying of the Academy, and its being the true Key of his Sentiments.

But you assert, that his Sentiments are not to be collected from any of his Writings, that were designed for the Public, which include all but his Letters, because, in all his Writings of that Kind, he affected an Obscurity. This is the first Time that I have ever seen the Character of *obscure* apply'd to Tully's Writings: Surely no Man's Stile was ever farther removed from it, or more remarkably shin-

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ing and perspicuous, than his. But the whole Charge of Obscurity, and all the Contrast of Sentiments found in different Parts of his Works may easily be solved, by considering onely the different Circumstances, in which they were delivered. By attending to this, we shall find his very Contradictions to be Consistencies, and nothing else but what was prudent and proper to be said by one and the same Man; acting the different Parts of the *Orator, the Statesman, the Philosopher*.

To come then at last to the principal Point in question; the Discovery of *his real Thoughts concerning a future State, which are to be collected onely, you say, from his Epistles*. And so far I agree, that in familiar Letters we may expect to find him more open and undisguised, and as far as he touches any Subject, treating it with less Reserve, than in Works designed for the Public: Yet all his Letters, as you allow, are not of this Sort: In many of them it was his Business to say, not so much what was true, as what would please. But let us see what he has actually said in the Testimonies, that you have produced from them. In a Letter to *Atticus*, (l. 4. 10.) *Sed de illa ambulatione, fors viderit, aut si qui est, qui curet, deus*. To *Torquatus*, (Ep. fam. l. 6. 3.) *Sed hæc consolatio levis est: Illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: Nec dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa: Et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo*. Again, (ib. 4.) *Deinde quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea republica avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim, cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit*. To *Toranius*, (ib. 21.) *Cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præsertim, cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum*. Nothing, you say, can be more express than these Passages against a future State: And that Tully speaks in them his real Sentiments, there is not the least room to doubt. They were Letters of Consolation to his Friends, when he himself, by Reason of the ill State of public Affairs, most wanted Consolation.

As to the first of these Passages; you allow it to be a Compliment to the Philosophy of his Friend *Atticus*, who was an Epicurean: And why is it not so too in the rest? In the first to *Torquatus*,

quatas, as in that to *Atticus*, the Case is put hypothetically *si non ero*: And the very Use of such a Topic in Consolation, implies, that these Friends also were Epicureans, and that he was administering Comfort from their Philosophy, not his own, as likely to have the more Weight with them; or arguing, as we say, *ad hominem*, not expressing his real Sentiments.

But as this is onely conjectural, and, as some may think, contrary to Fact; let us try what other Defence can be made, and what Use in this Case of our *Key of the Academy*. Though I have often reflected on these Passages, yet my Notion has always been, that *Tully did believe a future State*. The whole Turn of his Writings, and the Tenor of his Life shew it: He lived expecting it, and always, so as to deserve it; and declares it to be *a favourite Opinion*; which, though possibly an Error, he was resolved to indulge. But we must remember still, that he was an Academic; that is, that he believed it onely to be *probable*; and as Probability necessarily admits the Degrees of *more and less*, so it admits a Variety likewise in the Stability of our Persuasion: And as *Tully* himself says, on another Occasion, *quis autem est, tanta quidem de re, quin varie secum ipse disputet?* In a melancholy Hour, when the Spirits are low, and the Mind under a Dejection, an Argument appears in a very different Light; Objections acquire Strength; and what humours the present Chagrin, finds the readiest Admission. These Passages were evidently of this Kind, written in his desponding Moments; and, as you say, *when he himself most wanted Consolation*. And if we allow them therefore to express what he really thought at the Time, yet they prove nothing more, than that *he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed*; consistently with the Character and Principles of an Academic, who embraced *no opinions as certain*.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my free Thoughts on what you were so good as to communicate with regard to *Tully*: I will not be answerable for the Exactness of them; they are such onely as my Recollection could furnish, without the Help of *Tully's* Works to refresh, or any Testimonies to support them. But as I reserve

the more exact Consideration of this Argument to the Part of *Fully's* Life, which was the most employed on Philosophy, under *Cæsar's* Tyranny, so I shall be obliged to you for imparting any further Thoughts on the Subject, either to confirm or confute what I have here offered: And if any Occasion of Books or Friends should invite you again this Winter to *Cambridge*, where I propose to be about *Michaelmas*, I beg you to be assured, that no Man will be more ready to serve you in any manner there, or better pleas'd to enjoy as much of your Company as your Time and other Friends will allow to,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

P. S. I should be glad to hear that your great Work goes on successfully; and as a sure Omen of satisfying others, that you find more and more Satisfaction from it yourself. When I was last in *London*, I met with a little Piece, written with the same View and on the same Plan with yours, An anonymous Letter from *Geneva*, evincing the divine Mission of *Moses*, from the Institution of the Sabbath Year. The Author sets out, like you, from this single Postulatum, that *Moses* was a consummate Law-giver; and shews that he could never have enjoined a Law so whimsical, impolitic and hazardous; exposing the People to certain Famine, as oft as the preceding or following Year proved barren; if He, who has all Nature at command, had not warranted the Success of it. The Letter is ingenious and sprightly, and dresses out, in a Variety of Colours, the Absurdity of the Institution, on the Supposition of its being human. It is in *French*, and published in *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. 30.

But will not this Gaiety of censuring the Law be found too adventurous, and expose your *Postulatum* itself to some Hazard? Especially when there is a *Fact*, generally allowed by the Learn-

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ed, that seems to overturn all this specious Reasoning at once; viz. *that this Law of the Sabbathic Year was never observed.* For if so, it may be objected, with some Shew of Reason, that *Moses had charged himself with the Issue of Events too delicate, and beyond his Reach, and imprudently injoin'd what Use and Experience shewed to be impracticable.*

I am apprehensive likewise, that your Work will not stand wholly clear of Objections: Your Scheme, as I take it, is to shew, that *so able a Man as Moses could not possibly have omitted the Doctrine of a future State, thought so necessary to Government by all other Legislators, had he not done it by the express Direction of the Deity; and that under the miraculous Dispensations of the Theocracy, he could neither want it himself for the enforcing a Respect to his Laws, nor yet the People for the Encouragement of their Obedience.* But what was the Consequence? Why the People were perpetually apostatizing either to the Superstitions of *Ægypt*, or the Idolatries of *Canaan*; and tired with the Load of their Ceremonies, wholly drop'd them at last, and sunk into all Kinds of Vice and Profaneness; till the Prophets, in order to revive and preserve a Sense of Religion amongst them, began to preach up the rational Duties of Morality, and insinuate *the Doctrine of a future State.*

As in the other Case then, some may be apt to say, that *Moses* had instituted what could not be practised without Ruin to the State; so in this, that he had overlooked, what could not be omitted without Ruin to Religion.

I have taken the Liberty to propose these Hints, that, if you think them of Weight, you may be better prepared to obviate them; if not, may proceed the more securely by seeing Reason to flight them. As for myself, I can safely swear with *Tully*, that I have *a most ardent Desire to find out the Truth*: But as I have generally been disappointed in my Enquiries, and more successful in finding what is false than what is true, so I begin, like him too, to grow a mere Academic, humbly content to take up with the *probable*. Whatever you have to offer me of this Kind, I shall

thankfully embrace ; and tho' I expect as much from you, as I do from any Man, yet in the arduous Subject, on which you are engaged, I dare not venture to raise my Expectations any higher.

L E T T E R II.

Cambridge, Nov. 30, 1736.

Dear Sir,

ON my Return to *Cambridge* my first and best Entertainment was to find a long Letter from you ; which will ever give me Pleasure in proportion to its Bulk. I am much oblig'd to you for your friendly Acceptance and Construction of the Freedom with which I treated your Dissertation on *Tully's* Philosophy, as well as of what I ventur'd to intimate in relation to your greater Work. By your large View of both Subjects you have set me right in some particulars, which I had advanc'd too hastily and applied improperly ; but I have neither Leisure nor Ability at present to enter into a detail of them, as well for the Arrear of Business in which a long Absence has involv'd me, as for a particular Disorder and Flux of Rheum in my Eyes, which disables me in great measure either from reading or writing, and makes it even difficult to discharge this present Duty towards you. I must refer my self for a free Discussion of all Particulars to that personal Conference, which you are so good as to promise some time after Christmas, which I shall enjoy with great Satisfaction and expect with equal Impatience.

I saw our friend *****, as I pass'd thro' *London*, whose Thoughts seem to be more employ'd on moral and religious Subjects, than on pushing his Fortunes in his Profession ; in which I wish him all Success, for I take him to be an honest and deserving man. He professes himself a warm believer of Christianity ;

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I am sorry that it is on no better Grounds, than what you mention: for it is in Opinions, as in Estates; our Possession gives a presumption of a good Title, till the Discovery of it oft betrays the Weakness of the Tenure. The Lives and Characters of the Fathers are more likely in my Opinion to shake a settled, than confirm a wavering Faith. For notorious Weakness will in many Cases discredit a Testimony as effectually, as notorious Wickedness: and we generally find but too much Reason, in the most esteemed of them, to charge either the one or the other. Our ingenious Friend ***** has, as you observe, rightly charg'd the source of Infidelity on the miraculous History of each Testament: yet our Divines are continually haranguing upon it, as reflecting nothing but Lustre and Brightness on the Evidences of both. But we need not wonder at the rashness of our ordinary Divines, when the great *Rogers* has declar'd, as I remember, in one of his Sermons, that he could not believe the Truth of *Moses's* Pretensions, were it not for the Confirmation given to them by the Gospel. This I take to be a dangerous Assertion, that saps the very foundations of Christianity; and supercedes at once the whole purpose of your intended Work, by denying any original or intrinsic Character of Divinity to the Institution of *Moses*. The Pleasure that I have in corresponding with many worthy and ingenious Friends in different Parts of the Kingdom, has oft suggested a Wish to me, that a Club cou'd be instituted of such, who are us'd to think, and able to write, for the Discovery and Defence of Truth on every Subject, that affects either private or public Life, without regard to any Party or Interest whatsoever. But the difficulty is to find a set of Men so independent and disinterested, as to be qualified to engage in such a Cause, or indeed to find a Society that would bear them. The Design however, in the corruption even of these Times, if executed with Prudence, and with due Respect to the Government and Constitution, might be of great Service towards mitigating the indiscreet fierceness and prejudices both of Zealots and Sceptics, which seem likely in some time to endanger the public quiet.

As,

Dr. MIDDLETON'S LETTERS

As to the Life of *Cicero*, I hope to get thro' the first rough Draught of it by the next Spring: but then to revise, correct, and digest it all to my Mind; and especially to read over all his Works, as I intend, for that purpose, will employ another year, before I can offer it to the public.

I hope your next Letter will bring the Confirmation of your promis'd visit to our University, and fix a short Day for our expecting you, where I shall always be proud to testify, that I really am, what I profess my self to be,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

LETTER III.

Camb. Apr. 9, 1737.

Dear Sir,

TH O' I find my self in no small hurry on the approach of my Journey to *London*, whither I propose to set forward on *Monday* or *Tuesday*, yet I was resolv'd to snatch a moment for the payment of my thanks for your late obliging Letters, as well as the Journal, that came to my hands soon after the date of my last.— I had before seen the force of your critical Genius, very succesfully employ'd on *Shakespear*, but did not know that you had ever tried it on the *Latin* Authors. I am pleas'd with several of your Emendations, and transcrib'd them into the Margin of my Editions, tho' not equally with them all. It is a laudable and liberal Amusement, to try now and then in our reading, the Success of a Conjecture, but in the present State

of the generality of old Writers, it can hardly be thought a Study, fit to employ a Life upon; at least, not worthy, I am sure, of your Talents and Industry, which instead of trifling on Words, seem calculated rather to correct the Opinions and Manners of the World.

As to the *Plain Account*; I heard *Whiston* say, that he told the Queen, that the Bishop did not understand the Nature of the Sacrament so well now, as when sixteen Years old. But for my Part, I have not, I own, so contemptible a notion of the Performance. We may observe thro' all ages, that there never was any rite or practice in the Church, deriv'd from the Gospel, that in the course of a few Years was not so perverted from its primitive use, as to want to be recall'd to its first Principles, and set right again by the original Rule. The Author takes this to be the Case of the Sacrament, and seems to have reason, not onely from the practice of this, but even of the earliest times of which we have any notice. For example. All his Adversaries appeal to *Justin Martyr*, who wrote within fifty Years of St. *John*, for a genuin Account of the matter. Yet in his time we find, that after Consecration, *the Deacons distributed the Bread and the Cup of Wine, mixt with Water,* and carried Portions to the Absent. [Apol. 1. p. 96. Edit. Thirl.] *Irenæus* declares *the mixture of Water*, to be the Institution of Christ himself [l. 4. c. 57. l. 5. 2. 36.] and when some afterwards began to dispute and reject it, *Cyprian* affirm'd it to be injoin'd to him by a *special revelation from Heaven* [Ep. ad Cæcil. 63.]. And *Theophylact* on his Comment on *John* 19. says *pudescant Armenii, qui aquam non miscent*. This may shew how little we are to depend on Antiquity in the Case before us. I have no time to add more, but that I intend to return to *Cambridge* before the End of *May*, where I shall be heartily glad to receive you, and on all Occasions to signify, that I am, with great Truth, Dear Sir,

Sincerely Yours,

C. M.

LETTER

L E T T E R IV.

Camb. Sep. 22, 1737.

Dear Sir,

I Began to be impatient to hear of your Health, and what you were doing, till I receiv'd your last kind Letter: and if there was Occasion for any Apology on your Part, it cou'd onely be, for not favouring me with it sooner. I shall always be desirous to shew any Respect to your Friends; for that Character with me will be a sure Proof of their Merit. but Dr. *Taylor* seems to be one of those few, who want no Testimonial, and whose ingenuous Behaviour and Conversation will easily recommend him to the Esteem of Men of Sense. Pray let him know, that I think my self oblig'd to him for his kind Remembrance of me, and shou'd be glad of any Opportunity of cultivating his Friendship.

The Life of *Cicero* proceeds but slowly, thro' many Interruptions and Avocations: I had an unexpected one lately, by sudden call to *London*, to look after the Mastership of the Charter-House; having been mention'd for it, without my Application, by Sir *Robert*, and some other Great ones: but on my Arrival in Town I presently perceiv'd, that the D. of *Newcastle* had been before hand with them, in securing it for one Mr. *Mann*, an old Friend and Companion of *Ld. Godolphin*. So that I return'd, as I have been forc'd to do before, with a few good Words from those, who can as easily give good Things. I have made however a considerable Progress in my Work; and am drawing it out into a legible Form; and at your next Visit to us, hope to give you a Perusal of the whole, or at least of a great Part of it. But as I find some Difficulty in pleasing my self with it, I shall not be in hast to send it abroad; tho' whenever I do publish, am still inclined,

clined, as you, and other Friends have advised me, to print it by Subscription.

I promise my self in the mean Time much Entertainment from your first Volume: and if you carry it to the Press yourself, shall expect that you make *Cambridge* your Way, and take up your Quarters with us; where on all Occasions you will be as welcome as at home, and for any time, that you find convenient. I am pleased with the manner of your Address to the Free-thinkers, and obliged to you for your friendly Intentions with regard to my self: and tho' I shou'd be as proud to have the testimony of your Judgement and good Opinion as of any Man, yet I wou'd have you consider, how far such a Declaration of it may expose you to a share of that Envy, which has lain and still lies very heavy upon me.

I have never once look'd into the Review, &c. the Maxim, that you mention from it, is agreeable to the Principles of the Author, and to make Possession and Establishments a Test of Truth, the sure way to banish Reason and Inquiry out of Society. If from particular and national Societies, we extend his Rule to the universal one of Mankind, what wou'd become of Christianity itself, if a majority or novelty must be the criterion of true and false? we shou'd have nothing left, but to join with *Tindale*, and maintain it to be *as old as the Creation*.

I am, Sir,

Your affect. Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R V.

Feb. 8, 1737-8.

Dear Sir.

I Deferr'd my Thanks for your last obliging Letter, till I cou'd pay them at the same Time for the kind Present which you there promis'd, and which I have since receiv'd. But I have been forc'd still to defer them much longer than I intended, by the Publication of your Book, and quite disabled me from reading it; tho', by the help of borrow'd Eyes, I have at last got through it. When *Tully's* Writings were first spread through the World after his Death, a Spring broke out in one of his favourite Villas, which was found excellent for weak Eyes, and thought to be providentially supply'd to assist towards the reading of his Works. I wish that Providence, in whose Cause you are more specially engag'd, had furnish'd the same help to facilitate the Lecture of your Writings. I flatter my self however that my Blindness is not of the Judicial kind; since no Man, I'm sure, was either more desirous to read, or more willing to be convinc'd by you than my self; and tho' by my unhappy Disability I have lost some Share of the Pleasure, and perhaps of the Conviction, which I shou'd otherwise have receiv'd from your Book, yet I resolve to make it up by a more considerate and attentive Perusal, as soon as my Eyes will allow me: I beg leave in the mean while to assure you, that I found it very entertaining, very ingenious, very learned.

This wou'd be Satisfaction enough to the generality of Authors, whose end of writing is not so much Truth, as Praise: But that, I know, was not your's, or at least your primary End; for a Writer of your Genius will be allow'd without that Imputation, to en-

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liven a dry Subject with the Embellishments of Learning. I have the Pleasure also to tell you, that I'm exactly of your Mind in your Notion of *moral Obligation*; as well as in the two capital Propositions of your Book, *that the Doctrine of a Future-State is highly useful to Society*; and *that Magistrates have always inculcated it for the sake of that Utility*. How much farther you will carry me I cannot promise, I wish it may be to the End; if not I shall not charge it either to your Fault, or my own: For we are told by great Authority, *that it is as necessary for the Mind to yield to the Evidence of what it perceives, as the Balance to the Weight*; and *impossible for it not to judge of Things accordingly as they appear to it*; and we learn from daily Experience, that different Tempers and Capacities form different Judgements of the same Thing: so that while my academic Complexion leaves me groveling perhaps in the mire of Doubt, or pursuing the faint Track of Probability, your more sanguin Spirits, like the greater Mysteries, make you at once an *Autopos*, and admit you to the joyous Regions of clear Day and Intuition. But I cannot help attending to what, as Cicero tells me, a Sicilian Wagg *Epicarmus* whispers, *Be on your guard, and do not believe, for these are the Nerves of your Mind*: But lest you shou'd suspect that I follow onely Pagan Authority, *Clemens of Alexandria* quotes the same Passage, and adds either from himself, or perhaps some better Writer, that *Incredulity has done much good in the World, Credulity much Evil*.

But to return to your Book, as I have told you with great Truth that it pleases me in general very highly, so I think it the Part of a Friend to acquaint you with some little Objections, which I have either heard from others, or observ'd to it my self. Some take Notice that you treat the Free-thinkers too roughly, and that your Address to them is a Defiance rather and Declaration of War, than an Invitation to a Conference; not likely therefore to conciliate their Favour or Attention, which ought to be the Care of one who professes to write for their Conviction.—*Ld. Shaftsbury's* Raillery on Mr. *Locke* does not seem strange to me; a Philosopher, who at parting with Life, has nothing to preach but *it's Vanity*,

certainly makes a poor Figure, by shewing that he was deceiv'd in the End, and mistaken in the Use of it; and not that Life itself, but that his Pretensions to Philosophy were vain.—We are at a Loss to know, why you rank the *Old-Whig* among the *Infidel-Writers*; we consider him as writing onely on dissenting Principles, against Tests and Establishments, and suppose C——r or F——r to be the 'Editor, who have not been thought Enemies to Reveal'd Religion. For want of taking Notes in running thro' your Book, and the present bad State of my Eyes, I cannot recover the Passages, where I seem'd to stick a little; I shall mention therefore but one or two which my Memory supplies. You will be censur'd perhaps for condemning the fam'd Passage of *Josephus* so roundly, upon a Principle, which will hardly be found to be true, *viz. the unsociable Nature of that Religion*, not allowing a Communion with any other: But *Whiston*, you know, makes *Josephus a Christian-Bishop*, and though you will laugh here at the old Man, as I my self also do; yet what will you say to the uncontested Testimony of Ecclesiastical History, which asserts *that all the first Christian Bishops of Jerusalem, thro' a perpetual Succession of 15 to the final Destruction of the City by Hadrian, were circumcised Jews.*

By emending a Passage of *Tully*, you make him condemn *the ignorance of their Ancestors, and Superstition of the Priests in the Establishment of their Religion*; and referr to it afterwards as to a Sense allow'd and certain: yet as far as I can remember of his real Sentiments and constant Professions thro' all his Writings, he perpetually applauds the wise Institution of their religious Rites, as admirably adapted to the Genius of their Government and Service of the State. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

LETTER

L E T T E R VI.

Camb. Nov. 18. 1738.

Dear Sir,

I Am oblig'd to you for your kind Inquiry after my Health ; my Eyes are somewhat better than they have been, which is no small Comfort in my present Task of writing ; but in truth I may thank my self in great Measure for what I suffer from them, and while I am teizing them every Day beyond their Strength, cannot reasonably complain, if they often make me smart for it. I have been thinking however sometimes to try the Experiment which you advise, and desire therefore at your leisure to have the Receipt of your Tobacco ; tho' *ex fumo dare lucem*, seems to be an Attempt too bold for one of my Age. I have now an Amanuensis with me transcribing my *Tully*, and might be ready for the Press in the Spring, cou'd I prevail with my self to part with it so soon ; if I keep it still longer, it is not because I am fond of it, but because it does not yet please me, for whenever it does, I shall be glad to get rid of it. My Friends in the mean while begin to be pressing for it, and advise a Subscription, to which I seem now determined, especially as I have got an additional Charge upon me since I saw you, two small Girls, about eight Years old, who are now in the House with me, left by an unfortunate Brother, who had nothing else to leave ; but they are fine Children, and have gained already so much upon our Affections, that instead of being a Burthen, we begin to think them a Blessing to us ; my Subscription therefore is like to be of the charitable kind, and *Tully* to be their Portion. I begin to think of printing at this Place, where it will be most convenient to me, and where we have a Syndicate on Foot to regulate the Press, and bring it again into Credit and Order ; and my

Neighbour

Neighbour *Thurlborn*, whom I am dispos'd also to oblige, has been making Proposals to me. But I shall not think of taking any Resolution, till I can compute the Size and Charge of printing my Work, and see a little forward into the List of Subscribers; as far as I can guess at present, it will make a large Volume in 4th, which being handsomely printed may demand a Guinea for the Subscription Price. You will never be forgiven for your Preference of the INTERNAL Evidence, for that brings Reason into the Controversy, which our old Champions wou'd gladly discard, finding Testimony and Authority, like the Cudgel or Quarterstaff, the surest Weapons to beat off, or knock down an Adversary. But I did not expect to hear that Bishops begin to rank you on the Side of the Enemy, tho' nothing is strange from such a Bishop, who has just Learning enough to make his want of Sense onely the more conspicuous. — I wish that you wou'd spend some Part of the Winter among us at *Cambridge*, where I shou'd be glad to have your Judgement on the several Parts of *Cicero's Life*; we keep up a regular Meeting every Night at the Coffee-House, which is the onely Hour which I spend agreeably out of my own House; Mr. *** who charges me to repay his Compliments, adds no small Life to the Company, but the Pleasure of it wou'd be much heightened by the Benefit of your Conversation. My Amanuensis leads me on so fast that I can hardly keep Pace with him, if I give him any Start; for as he writes, I revise, and insert all the Authorities. I can only add our joint good Wishes for your Health and Prosperity, and am with great Truth,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R VII.

Camb. Sept. 4, 1739.

Dear Sir,

I Should have paid my Thanks long ago for your last kind Letter, but that I have been extremely busy, and still am so in finishing my Book for the Press, whither I shall certainly commit it, about the Middle of the next Month. I am obliged to you for my Rt. Revd. Subscriber, and the more so, for the Pains that it cost you to draw him in. Episcopal Gold, like that from the Royal Hand, may help to cure the Evil, with which I am said to be infected. I have now got fifteen of that Bench, one or two of whom were even my Solicitors, but cou'd not persuade some of the rest, that my Work was not levell'd against Religion. This Notion has been strongly inculcated, and when in the Conversation, that I mention'd (with the A. B.) I took occasion to urge the Folly as well as Malice of it, it was answer'd, that tho' it might prove false, yet it did not appear to be malicious, since the *Life of Homer* might justly give a Handle to suspect the *Life of Tully*.

I can easily imagine, that you have suffered in the Opinion of that Person, and many others of the same Stamp, for your charitable Opinion of me; but the free manner with which you treat certain Characters and Opinions, which pass for sacred with all such, is your fundamental and unpardonable Crime, and the rest but overt Acts of a secret Malice and mischievous Intent in it. You despise that Roundness of their Systems, into which they have collected all the Substantials of Religion, and by breaking thro' the Circle threaten to dissolve the Charm. How can a Prelate, who in his primary Visitation made it his Care to recommend the

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the *Miscellany* to all the Clergy, ever relish an Author of your Genius, whose End as well as manner of Writing is just the reverse of that Scribbler's, to pursue Truth, where-ever you find it, and from the midst of Smoak and Darknes to spread Light and Day around you? You will hardly mend the matter, as you say, by defending Mr. *Pope*; for tho' it be an Act of Justice, and a Task of all others the most laudable to defend a shining Character when injuriously attacked, and tho' it will shew the Ingenuity, Learning, and good Taste of the Author, yet it will not be thought a clerical Work, such as your *St—s* and *Cb—s* attempt, all whose polemical Fire and Artillery are levell'd against the Enemies of the Church; and a stupid Book against *Morgan*, or a Defence of the Fathers, especially where they cannot be defended, are the sure Means of making a Man first a Chaplain, and at last perhaps an Arch-bishop. No, my Friend, as long as you can love a Man, because he is amiable, and think him honest, who is not perhaps Orthodox, or a lover of Truth, who hates a pious Fraud and sanctified Lie, you may enjoy the Comfort of a good Conscience and good Company, but must not expect after a Life of Virtue and Study to slumber in the Stalls and refresh your old Age in the Sunshine of the Church. Pray present our best Wishes and Compliments to Dr. *Taylor*, whether married or unmarried, and accept the same to yourself from,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull

and obedient Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R VIII.

Camb. Jan. 7, 1739-40.

Dear Sir,

I Have been a shamefull Time in your Debt for a kind and agreeable Letter, for which I have no other Excuse to make, but that I have been forced of late to take the same Liberty with all my Friends, and content my self with the less honorable Part of receiving Favors instead of giving.

I thank you for the Present of your Vindication of Mr. *Pope*, which my Wife read over to me with much Pleasure to us both, and with that Satisfaction which your Works will always give your Friends of seeing you triumph over your Adversaries. — You have evinced the Orthodoxy of Mr. *Pope*'s Principles, but like the old Commentators on his *Homer*, will be thought perhaps in some Places to have provided a meaning for him, that he himself never dreamt of. However if you did not find him a Philosopher, you will make him one, for he will be wise enough to take the Benefit of your Reading, and make his future Essays more clear and consistent. It was certainly a generous Part in you, and worthy a Man of Capacity and Leisure to vindicate a Writer of his Genius, to whom the Public is so highly indebted from the groundless Cavils of a dull Critic, which Mr. *Pope*'s Name and not his own had spread into every body's Hands. I have been employing my self very diligently on the last Part of my Work, the Review of *Cicero*'s Character and Opinions, &c. where as it seemed to fall in my way to say something by way of Note on the Article you wrote of, so I have taken the Opportunity of saying what I think sufficient, yet no more than what the Subject naturally led me to. I think you much in the right to take no farther Notice of *W—r* you have done him too much honor already by

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letting him see that he can warm you. But I shall not be displeased to see you give the whole Tribe of them that just Correction in your Preface, which your masterly Hand is so well able to dispense. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R IX.

May 8, 1740.

Dear Sir,

I Am oblig'd to you for the favor of your kind Letter, and much pleas'd with your excursion to *Twickenham*, which abounds with every thing, I know, that can make the Scene agreeable to a Man of Taste, both within and without Doors. I thank you for doing me Justice to Mr. *Pope* and Mr. *Littleton*, and representing me in that very Light, in which I desire and shall ever endeavour to appear to Men of Probity and good Sense, of what Party soever they may be; for I am perswaded, that there are such Men to be found in all Parties. I do not recollect how I cou'd ever answer an Invitation from Mr. *Pope* in a slight manner, whose Character would make such a Behaviour ridiculous in any Man. I have always had a very high Opinion of his shining and singular Abilities; but from the Prejudices, conceiv'd against me by many of his Friends, on the Account of my Writings, as well as my Engagements to *Ld. Hervey*, I have had Reason to believe, that he also has been induced, to think me less worthy of his good Opinion, than he had once imagined. I am sorry for your par-

ticular Loss in Bp. *Hare*, whom I have always taken to be a real Encourager of Learning, as well as a learned Man; a Character, that will not easily be replaced on that Bench. But the Comfort is, that Learning is a Branch of Virtue, that never fails to carry its Reward with it; of which you have such a Share, as you wou'd not exchange, I dare say, for the best Preferment in the Kingdom. This is a Satisfaction, which I feel every Day in my Study, in the want of all Preferment; that I can live after my own Way, without attending Levees, and exposing my self to Disappointments, or sacrificing, what is of all things the most precious to a declining Life, my Time to a vain Ambition. The elder Mr. *York*, with his Tutor *Salter*, left us suddenly upon a Summons to Town, where you will probably take an Opportunity to wait upon him. Pray contrive to see us on your Return, and spend as much Time with us as you can, where you may assure yourself of being always heartily welcome to, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

LETTER X.

Camb. Jan. 8, 1740-1.

Dear Sir,

THE short Day which my Bookseller has fixt for the Publication of my *Cicero*, has thrown me into no small Hurry, to provide all things ready on my Side before the End of this Month; I hear from all Friends, that you are not less assiduous in pushing forward your Work, and as I propose

pose to be in *London* in *February*, heartily wish, that it may be in such forwardness, as to call you thither also about the same Time.

Our People here have just got some Notice of my Letter to the A—B—p which is spread as usual thro' the University. His Grace, it seems, shewed it lately to Dr. M—y who gave a particular Account of it to a Fellow of *Sidney*, but with 'no Intimation of any Reflection made upon it either by his Grace or the Doctor, which is the whole that I have yet learnt of it. My first Comfort is, from the Reserve observ'd about it, after shewing it to Enemies, that they are at a Loss how to draw any thing from it to my Disadvantage, and for the rest, I am perfectly easy. —The Church has receiv'd a great Loss by the Death of Dr. W—d. I cannot say, an irreparable one, whilst C—n lives; to whom he has left some unfinish'd Papers on *Infant Communion*, and wisely order'd all the rest to be burnt; he has bequeathed likewise to the College, such of his printed Books, as they find scribbled by his own Hand, for such, I hear, is his own Description of them. By the Silence of the public Papers upon the fall of so eminent a Luminary, we are to expect, I imagine, in a proper Time some labored Panegyric from a masterly Hand. Tho' the great *Hooker* seems to have exhausted himself in an Effort of the last Week to do Justice to the Character of the excellent *Eusebius*, who is preparing to give the *Coup de grace* to that subtle and ingenious but infamous Writer, the moral Philosopher.—But as to W—d whenever they think fit to oblige the Public with his Life, they will not forget one Story, I hope, which is truly worthy of him, and shews the real Spirit of the Man, and which I can venture to tell you on good Authority. In his last Journey from *Cambridge* to *London*, being attended by Dr. P———e and C——n the Surgeon, he lodged the second Night at *Hodsdon*, where being observ'd to have been costive on the Road, he was advised to have a Clyster, to which he consented. The Apothecary was presently sent for, to whom Dr. P——e gave his orders below Stairs, while Dr. W—d continued above; upon which the Apothecary cou'd

cou'd not forbear expressing his great Sense of the Honor, which he receiv'd, in being call'd to the Assistance of so celebrated a Person, whose Writings he was well acquainted with; the Company signified some Surprize to find a country Apothecary so learned; but he assur'd them, that he was no Stranger to the Merit and Character of the Doctor, but had lately read his ingenious Book with much Pleasure, *The Divine Legation of Moses*; Dr. P——e and a Fellow of *Magdalen* there present, took Pains to convince the Apothecary of his Mistake, while C——n ran up Stairs with an Account of his Blunder to W——d who provoked by it into a violent Passion, call'd the poor Fellow a Puppy, and Blockhead, who must needs be ignorant in his Profession and unfit to administer any thing to him, and might possibly poyson his Bowels; and notwithstanding Dr. P——e's endeavours to moderate his Displeasure, by representing the Expediency of the Operation, and the Man's Capacity to perform it, he wou'd hear nothing in his Favor, but order'd him to be discharged, and postpon'd the Benefit of the Clyster till he reached his next Stage. With such wretched Passions and Prejudices did this poor Man march to his Grave, which might deserve to be laugh'd at, rather than lamented, if we did not see what pernicious Influence they have in the Church, to defame and depress Men of Sense and Virtue who have had the Courage to despise them.

I am with true Esteem and our joint Wishes of many happy Years,

Dear Sir,

Your affect. Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

LETTER

L E T T E R XI.

*Camb. Apr. 5, 1741.**Dear Sir,*

I Returned to *Cambridge* on *Friday* last, where I had no sooner been welcomed by the affectionate Salutations of my Family than I receiv'd the additional Pleasure of your kind Letter. I was quite tired of the Town before I left it, and called sometimes at *Gyles's* in hopes of being refreshed by the expectation of your Arrival, but you resolve, I perceive, to make your Appearance first by Proxy, and to oblige the World, with the Entertainment, which it impatiently expects, from the Publication of your second Volume; to which I heartily wish all the Success, that you desire, or what, I am persuaded, is still more, all that it will really merit. — I am oblig'd to you for your Congratulation on the favorable Reception of my Work, which has answered indeed all my Wishes, and you will readily believe, that I esteem it as a particular Honour, that it has merited the Approbation of your Friends *Mr. Pope* and *Mr. Littleton*, with whom I spent a very agreeable Afternoon at *Mr. Murray's*, where they both joined in strong Expressions of their Friendship and Esteem of you. As to the Circumstance, from which you draw so just and usefull a Lesson, of our differing from each other in some particular Opinions, as I was always persuaded, that it cou'd not have any other Effect upon you, so I have the Comfort to assure you, that I never felt the least Impression from it disadvantageous to our Friendship; it is the necessary Consequence of that Privilege of our Nature, on which all Men of Sense set the highest Value, the Liberty of judging for ourselves; yet since it wou'd be a great Satisfaction to me in all Cases to find my Judgement confirm'd by

yours,

yours, so when you are at full leisure I shou'd be glad to know the particular Reasons which force you to differ from me on the Subject of *Cicero's* Opinions, to which alone our Difference in the present Case is to be referr'd, that as far as is possible we may come still nearer to each other.

We have been alarmed in the University for some Days past by an Opposition declared against Mr. *Finch*, but it is now dropt, and we shall chuse our old Member again to-morrow.

As soon as I can sit down again to my Books, I shall prepare a new Edition of my Letter from *Rome* in 8vo, enlarged with a prefatory Answer to a Popish Writer, who has animadverted upon it, where I shall take Occasion to explain my Sentiments more explicitly with regard to my Belief of the Scriptures, in a manner proper to satisfy all reasonable and candid Readers, and for the rest, it wou'd be a Weakness in me to expect or desire that I shou'd ever satisfy them. I shall depend on your paying us a Visit either as you go or return from *London*, for I have many things to talk over with you, which I cannot commit to Letter. I desire you to make my Compliments to Dr. *Taylor*, with my Thanks for all his Favors, and to assure you that I am with the greatest Truth,

Dear Sir,

Your sincere Friend

and faithful Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R XII.

*Camb. Oct. 22, 1741.**Dear Sir,*

YOUR obliging Letter found me at *Hildersham* where I spent the Autumn with my Family, and where the Amusements of the Country and the Necessity of reforming a rude Farm into a tolerable Habitation engrossed my Time and Thoughts so intirely, as to leave me neither Leisure nor Inclination indeed to take a Pen in Hand for any other Purpose but to draw Plans and settle Accounts with my Workmen. I return'd to *Cambridge* on *Saturday* last, and have taken my Seat again in my Study, where it shall be my first Task to pay my Debts to all my Friends for their Favors not yet acknowledg'd, and especially to yourself, whose Letter I assure you, gave me a particular Pleasure, as it furnished a fresh Proof not onely of your Candor and good Temper, but of your Friendship also to me; and whenever you may find Occasion, as you intimate, to publish any Observations upon my Postscript, I make no Doubt, but that you will give the Public the same Reason to applaud your Moderation, and set them such a Pattern, of what we call polemical Writing, as ought to be copied by all Men of liberal Education. But whenever you think fit to give yourself that Trouble, you will remember, that the Point, which you assert, and the single Point contested in the Postscript, is, that the Papists, or the Introducers of those Rites, which we call Popish, had no View or Reference to Paganism in the Introduction of them, and that in fact there were none of them introduced, while there were any Pagan Prejudices subsisting among Christians. If you make out this Point, (and nothing less can be thought to justify, what you declare

declare in the Paragraph referr'd to by me,) you will have the Credit of discovering a Truth, unknown, I believe, before to the learned World. I am far from imagining, that you had the least Intention of discrediting any Argument against Popery, which you took to be a good one, and I may perhaps have said too much, in charging your Opinion with overthrowing *the Use* of my Book ; but it must needs hurt *the Credit* at least of a Work, that has been well receiv'd, to inform the Public that it is grounded at last on a Mistake ; and tho' it may happen to wound the Papists, that it hits them, as it were, onely by Chance. You take Notice, that what you have said on the Question in Difference between us, was essential to your Argument, but I can assure you, that it was the general Opinion of all my Acquaintance, who reflected upon it, that you had stept out of your Way, to give a Blow to the Assertors of the Paganism of *Rome*, and for that very Reason were not so clear and connected in the Conclusion of that Section, as in the rest of your ingenious Work. I am much pleased, that any Part of my late Performance can deserve your Approbation, and especially those Pages which you mention. I was ever ready to have given the same Satisfaction, when it should fall naturally in my Way, and belonged to my Subject, as I told you, I remember, when you were so kind as to advise me to it, but I cou'd not submit to do it, on the Demand of a *V——n* or a *W——r*, which wou'd have expos'd me onely to fresh Censure and a more reasonable Suspicion of me. I am glad to hear, that any Occasion will call you to Town this Winter ; you call it indeed a ridiculous one, but if I guess it aright, it may one Day produce something serious to your Advantage. For as Times now go, *Horace's* Rule of Comic Wit, may not improperly be applied to our Conduct in Civil Life, and the ridiculous Part do your Business more effectually than all the Merit of your graver Character. *Ridiculum acri fortius ac melius*, &c. I received lately a very friendly Letter from Dr. *Taylor*, for which I desire you to pay him my Thanks and Compliments till I find Leisure, which I want at present, to acknowledge it my self. Mr. *Tunstall* carried his

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Election yesterday more clearly than was imagined, by a Majority of 23, his Number of Votes being 160. I beg your Acceptance of our joint Wishes of Health and Happiness to you, and am with true Respect,

Dear Sir,

*Your affect. Friend
and Servant,*

C. M.

Three Letters of Dr. MIDDLETON's to another of his Friends.

L E T T E R I.

Cambridge, Nov. 19, 1747.

Dear Sir,

I Have been so particularly engaged ever since I was favored with yours of the 5th Instant, that I have not found leisure till now, to thank you, as I should otherwise have done much sooner, for your clear and distinct Account of Dr. D—n's Book, which was very agreeable to me, as it is an actual Exemplification of the Argument of the *Introductory Discourse*.

I have formerly been acquainted with several Non-Jurors of distinguish'd Learning in this University, whom I always perceiv'd to be fond of the same Principles, which you have extracted from these *Catechisms*; and to be arriv'd so near to the Confines of Popery, as if they were prepar'd to step into it again, whenever a proper Occasion should intervene; which many of them would defend, as a more eligible Step, than an Union with

any other Protestant Sect, as being more remote still from the Primitive Pattern. These Principles I could never digest, from the Time when I began to think and judge for my self; and they gave me the first Disgust to what was then sanctified by the Title of Orthodoxy. Nor has the Authority of those ancient Fathers, from whom they are derived, alter'd my Opinion of them; nor can any Authority indeed ever persuade me to receive as sacred and divine, what my Sense and Reason declare to be absurd and superstitious. Yet this is the Religion, which Primitive Antiquity recommends to us. But it is a Comfort to observe, as well of our Clergy, as the Laity, that they are generally become more easy and moderate in their Notions of Religion, than they have formerly been, from that more free and natural way of expounding its Doctrines, which has obtained of late years, not onely in the established Church, but in all the prudent and sensible Part of our Protestant Sects; who all seem now to agree in making our common Sense and Reason the genuine Test and Measure of our common Faith; which is the onely Way to preserve any Peace or Charity among Christian Societies. This good Fruit will be improved still, I dare say, by the Choice of our new Archbishop; I may say, of the two Archbishops, who seem both to be of a Character quite opposite to the last; Men of an open and candid Disposition, and Lovers of Liberty both religious and civil.

As to the Expectations, which you mention, from me, I have promised a Work indeed to the Public, of which I will not disappoint it; but cannot tell as yet, in what Time I shall be able to send it abroad. Expectation is an Adversary, against which I must guard it with the more Care; and the Argument is important, which will require therefore the greater Attention, and the Alarm, which it seems to have given to many, will oblige me to clear it of all Offence, except such, as plain Fact and Truth may possibly give: And let that reach as far as it will I shall have no Concern for the Consequences.

In the mean while I should be glad, if you can send me any Information relating to the Subject, or any thing, which you may

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have heard worth Notice concerning the Sentiments or Apprehensions of Men of Sense about it; and when you pass by *Manby's* Shop, I desire, if *D——'s* Book be sold in Town, that you would order him to send it to, *Dear Sir,*

Your affectionate

and faithful Servant,

C. M.



LETTER II.

Camb. Decem. 15, 1748.

Dear Sir,

I Am ashamed to find my self so late in acknowledging the Favour of your last obliging Letter, and the literary Notices, which you therein furnished for the Use of my Book. But I beg you to be assured, that the Tardiness of my Thanks did not procede from any Disregard to you, for whom I have long conceived a very just Esteem; nor yet from any slight Opinion of the Authorities, which you had collected; but from my own Indolence and Disinclination to writing Letters, contracted by the Interruption, which it gives to my few Hours of Study, and the Difficulty, which it creates to my weak Eyes, which will not suffer me to write or read what is necessary to the Task, to which I have devoted the Remainder of my Days, of informing my self, as well as I am able, of any thing, that is right and good, and of communicating that Information to the Public, as being the sole Way, which my Condition of Life has opened to me, of doing any good in the World, or making a proper Use of these slender Talents, with which Providence has intrusted me.

As to your Authorities, tho' I made no Use of them in my Work, which was quite finished before they reached me; they may probably be of Service hereafter, for the Defence and Confirmation

firmation of my Argument against the Cavils of Adversaries, who will not fail to attack it where-ever they can find a weak Part; as I am not so vain, as to think, that any Performance of mine can be clear of several Parts of that sort. I should be very glad to hear your free Sentiments upon it, as well as what Reception it meets with elsewhere; and especially what Objections are made by Men of Sense to my Part, where it is thought defective in matter of Proof or Probability.

The Duke of Newcastle was yesterday elected our Chancellor with great Chearfulness and Unanimity. Dr. Whalley, our Regius Professor of Divinity, died the Night before of an Apoplectic Case, in which he lay convulsed for a Day or two. The Candidates mention'd for the vacant Professorship are Dr. Paris, Master of Sidney College, Mr. Green, Fellow of St. John's, and Mr. Young of Trinity, our public Orator, all of them Men of good Merit and Principles. I am, with great Truth,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull Friend

and Servant,

C. M.

L E T T E R III.

Jan. 16, 1748-9.

Dear Sir,

YOUR Letter of the 10th Instant gave me no small Satisfaction, by assuring me of the general Concurrence of the candid and judicious in their favourable Opinion of my late Work. The Approbation of Men of that Character is all, that I desire, and what the Consciousness indeed of my own Conviction gave me some reason to expect. The Case is much the same in this University, where, as far as I am informed, my

Book

Book has spread, a general Persuasion of the Truth of what I affirm in it; and, what is still left to be expected in such a Place as this, without giving any sort of Offence by any Part of it, which has yet been taken Notice of; tho' there are some cautious People always among us, who affect a Reserve and Silence on Subjects of this Kind, till they are instructed from abroad in what manner they ought to treat them.

Mr. *Jortin*, whom you mention, is a very worthy, learned, and judicious Man; yet had no reason, I think, to expect in my Work any Notice of that miraculous Story concerning the Attempt to rebuild *Jerusalem*. And your Answer on that Occasion was the very same, which I had given my self, when my Sentiments were asked upon the same Fact.

In drawing up my Remarks on that Miracle, which *Berriman* defends, I had got a Notion of some Objections made to the Reality of that Case of the *Ipswich* Woman, so as to render it of dubious Credit; which made me unwilling to venture upon it. But I have since been convinced, that the Fact was indisputably attested; and that the Transactions of the Royal Society would have supplied an Instance as strong and direct to my purpose, as that, which I borrowed from the *French Academy*.

The Notices, which you communicate, concerning Mr. *Dodwell*, *Joseph Mede*, &c. may be probably of Use to me hereafter: and since the Publication of my Book, I have found the Character of St. *Jerom* treated with much Freedom by some of our Orthodox Divines and Lovers of Antiquity, and among them by Dr. *Cave* himself. I had prepared a Note or two likewise for my *Introductory Discourse*, which I forgot afterwards to insert, concerning the Opinions of some of Queen *Elizabeth's* Divines, which I collected from *Strype*, who tells us in his *Annals*, that one *James Calfhill* (*), a Man much esteemed for his Knowledge

(*) He was first Student, and afterwards Canon of *Christ Church Oxford*, Dean of *Barking in Essex*, and Archdeacon of *Colchester*, and nominated by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Bishopric of *Worcester*, but died

before his Consecration in *August 1570*. The Passage refer'd to in Dr. *Middleton's* Letter is in p. 23, of his Answer to *John Martineau's* Essay of the *Qualities* which Answer was printed at *London*, in 1565 in 4to,

of the Primitive Fathers, declared, that he had read them all, and strictly examined their Words and Assertions, from the very first Doctors of the Church after the apostolic Times, and had found *Imperfections in them all*; which, for the Reason given by Mr. Dodwell, he was unwilling to expose.

Manby has sent me down four small Pamphlets proposed to come out weekly, call'd *The Mitre and Crown, &c.* in which I find my self and my Work abused with great Rage and Virulence of Language, but without any Argument, that touched the Point in Question. I should guess the Writer to be some Nonjuring Divine, who writes partly for Bread, and partly for the Orthodox Cause of that antient and hereditary Right, which would give us both our Kings and Bishops from Rome.

I paid your Compliments to Mr. Green, who will be chosen our Divinity Professor this Week, without any Competition, after a probationary Lecture, which he is appointed to read on certain Texts of Scripture in the public Schools, on *Thursday* next. He is a very ingenious Man, of good Temper and Principles, and will fill the Chair, I dare say, with Credit. The new Master also of *Peter Hofue*, Dr. Keen, is a very sensible and agreeable Man, and likely to make an useful Hand both to the College and the University. By Dr. Heberden's Removal from us I have receiv'd a great and particular Loss, which I shall ever feel, tho' the Sense of it will be much abated, to hear of its being attended with all the Success on his Part, that I wish. One Advantage he is sure to meet with, and for which alone I shall envy him; I mean that Choice of good Company, with which *London* always abounds.

Pray make my Compliments to all Friends, and believe me with great Truth,

Dear Sir,

Your faithfull

and obedient Servant,

C. M.

To

To Mr. VENN:

Camb, Feb. 23, 1734-5.

S I R,

I Have been well informed, that, some Time ago, you took the Liberty to call me by Name an *Apostate Priest*. I find the same Calumny more publickly repeated in the *Miscellany* of Feb. 15, on a certain Person, not named, whose Writings have had the Misfortune to displease you; and as you are said to be concerned in the furnishing out this Weekly Paper, in Partnership with another worthy Divine, so I cannot avoid considering my self as the Object of your Abuse in both Cases.

The only Thing that puzzles me, is to discover by what Principle of Christianity you think yourself justified in such a License of Calumniating; or how can you imagine a Behaviour so shocking to good Nature, good Sense, and good Manners, to be the Effect of any good Religion.

There must needs be some strange Mistake between us on one Side or the other: The Word *Religion* perhaps may have something in it equivocal, and denote a quite different Thing with you and with me: If your Religion prescribes, permits, or does not condemn, all such Defamation as impious and detestable, you clear me at once of Apostasy; for that Religion was never mine: And I cannot be charged with deserting what I had never professed.

Be so good, Sir, as to favour me with some Account of this Matter. I have a Right, I think, to require at least this Satisfaction. You are the only Man who has ventured to call me an Apostate; and if you are an honest Man, you would not be particular in your Accusation, without a particular Assurance of the Truth of it; nor so forward with your Charge, without being as ready with your Proofs. Tell me then, in God's Name, say, tell the Public all that you know of me: speak out freely, charge every

every Thing, that either your own Malice suggests, or that of others has supplied you with. If you can convict me of any Thing immoral or irreligious, of any Apostasy from what is laudable or virtuous, I will take Shame to my self and own it; if not, shall seek no other Revenge than that of leaving you to the Reproach of your Conscience, and the Scorn of all good Men.

I could wish likewise to be informed of what Use it can be to the Interest of Christianity, of what Advantage to Religion, to proclaim to the World, that I am an Apostate. Should your *Miscellany* fall into the Hands of Men wavering in the Faith, staggering at every Scruple, shaken by every Breath of Scandal; and there must be many such in this sceptical Age; might it not be of Weight enough, in the Equilibrium of their Doubts, to turn the Scale on the Infidel Side, to be assured by you, that a Clergyman trained in the Bosom of the Church, of some Reputation and many Friends, after a Life spent in Temperance, Study, and the Search of Truth, had by Choice and Judgement deserted it? It is the constant Policy of all Sects, to challenge to their Party, any Man of Merit, supposed even on the slightest Grounds to have discovered some Inclination to them; but your absurd Zeal would forcibly drive from the Service of Religion Men of Virtue and Learning, against their Will, against their Profession, against Truth.

The Person whom you treat so infamously, *convinced*, you say, *either of his Wickedness or Imprudence*, has desisted from troubling us further with his Profaneness. You allow it then to be a Question, whether it was Wickedness or Imprudence, that excited him to write: You allow, that whichever it was, he is now convinced, and has desisted. This one would think might have induced you to suffer a Man to be quiet, who suffers every Body else to be so: He repents, it seems; has chang'd his Conduct, troubles No-body; yet all this passes for nothing with you; your Charity gives no Quarter: His Repentance must be overlooked, his Apostasy always remember'd, and his very Conviction made a Matter of fresh Reproach to him. This is the true Spirit of Rome, that never spares a Penitent, who returns from Deser-

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tion. For whilst you take such Pains to murder a Reputation, seeking, according to you, to heal itself by Conviction and Amendment; you declare what you would do with Persons, were they as much in your Power.

But tho' he has desisted from troubling us himself, yet other Enemies, you say, *have resisted their Armour at his Forge; and the witty Socinian and crafty Jesuit make great Advantage of his Writings.* And here again, I must beg you to tell me, 'where it is, that these Adversaries are found tampering with his Works; where it is, that we may catch them quoting or building their Errors upon his Principles. If you cannot shew this, we must take the Insinuation for another Fiction of your Malice, as senseless as it is spiteful; a Bolt shot out at Random, which by falling somewhere luckily may chance to do Mischief. Is the Growth of Popery to be charged at last upon me, who have taken more Pains, and perhaps with more Success, to expose its Frauds and Corruptions, than most Clergymen now living? Ridiculous Calumny! No, Sir, the *Jesuits*, I can answer for it, will readily join Forces with you; will second your pious Endeavours of wounding my Reputation, ruining my Credit, and defaming me every where as a malicious, profane Apostate. It is here, after all, that I am touching the Bottom of the Sore: It was my Piece against Popery, that gave the first Scandal, and the first bad Impression of me. As soon as it was published, that learned Divine, your Partner, happening to meet me in the Street, told me, with a formal Face and Air of Importance, that he had been in Company with certain Friends, who declared themselves offended at it. I asked him, Whether they had found any Thing false in it? And perceiving that there was no Objection of that Sort, left him with no other Reflection, than that of a just Contempt for the Impertinence of the Information. I heard afterwards of another *****

These were the Men, who first began the Clamour, and raised the first Envy upon me; and I am now but paying the Arrears of that old Gudge, as you seem to intimate in this very *Miscellany*:

For you say, that it was natural for me to hate, what I had before betray'd: As if there was a Guilt upon me, previous to that I have lately been charged with, and the *Æra* of my Apostasy was to bear the same Date with my *Letter from Rome*. The more I reflect on your Rashness, the more I am inclin'd to impute it to some selfish Motive of Interest; some Hopes of Gain or Glory to accrue from it. It is common with the Writers of your Class, to run the Risk of a Pillory, to raise the Fame and Value of their Weekly Productions; and we read of an Hero in Antiquity, who set the Temple of his Country on Fire, to perpetuate his Name to Posterity. In this View, you act consistently, tho' in all Views wickedly. But to talk of reforming Morals, and recommending Religion, by a Method destructive of all Morality, and contrary to all Religion, is a mere Banter and Affront to Reason and common Sense. But whilst you dispense so freely the Titles of Profane and Apostate, let me recommend to you to consider the History of that first and chief Apostate, the Pattern, as well as Author, of every other Apostasy in the World. You will find his abominable Qualities summed up in this short Character, *The Accuser of the Brethren*, Rev. xii. 10. you will find him described, as defaming *Day and Night*; continually going about roaring and seeking to devour. This, says St. John, *is the old Dragon, which is the Devil and Satan*, Rev. xx. 2. And what, Sir, is the Devil, that is, Satan, but Names drawn from his very Essence, signifying the Adversary, the Hater, the Accuser of Mankind? His Followers, like their Master, are described by David, under the Person of Doeg, *the malicious Accuser of the Priests: With Tongues that devise Mischief; that love devouring Words*, Psal. lii. 2, 4. and as *Men set on Fire, whose Teeth are Spears and Arrows, and their Tongues a sharp Sword*, Psal. lvii. 4. This is the grand, the sovereign Apostasy; the Defection from all Religion; a Delight in defaming, an Alacrity in accusing; and I leave it to you to determine, where the Reproach of it is the most likely to fall, on your self or on me. You have called me an *Apostate*; all People, I dare say, or all at least who know me, will

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will be shocked at it: But should I chance to describe a certain Priest by the Title of the *Accuser*, there is scarce a Man in *England* who would not immediately think on Mr. VENN. A Reflection sufficient, methinks, to admonish you, that, instead of being so busy with other Mens Characters, it behoves you much more to turn your Thoughts and Attention to your own.

But if it be possible, after all, that I should ever have it in my Power to say of you, what you declare of me, that thro' a Conviction of your Wickedness, you had changed your Conduct, and desisted from Calumniating; I should still act on this, as I shall do on every Occasion, just contrary to the Example you set me; I should rejoice in the Change, begin to entertain Hopes and a better Opinion of you, and forget the Accuser to applaud the Convert.

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

F I N I S.

